



PHD

The Opportunities and Challenges for a Critical Global Citizenship Education in One English Secondary School

Blackmore, Chloe

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THE OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR A CRITICAL GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ONE ENGLISH SECONDARY SCHOOL

Chloe Blackmore

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Bath
Department of Education
April 2014

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ABSTRACT

Within global citizenship education (GCE) theory, policy and practice there is much emphasis upon the 'critical'. However, existing research shows that a critical approach is limited within schools (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Hunt 2012; Mundy and Manion 2008). This research seeks to explore this perceived 'reality gap' through an in-depth ethnographic study at one English secondary school, drawing on the perspectives of teachers, students and parents. It is guided by two open questions: how is GCE understood and practised in one secondary school? What are the challenges and opportunities for a critical global citizenship education (CGCE)?

Drawing on critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory, two areas of critical theory that have contributed to GCE, this thesis proposes a framework of CGCE. As an ideal, CGCE critically examines knowledge, promotes dialogue across difference, encourages self-reflection, and leads to informed responsible being and action. In order to understand how GCE plays out in practice, this research reports a detailed ethnographic study of GCE at one English secondary school with a strong reputation for GCE, using a combination of participant observation, interviews, discussion groups and document analysis, to explore the perceptions of teachers, students and parents.

Using thick description, this thesis illustrates opportunities for CGCE within a formal school context. Although the relationship between GCE and the curriculum is ambiguous, it argues that there are potentially more opportunities for CGCE within the formal curriculum than within informal whole-school initiatives. However, instrumental economic, moral and cultural agendas within the school limit the opportunities for CGCE, posing tensions between critical engagement and the school's need to achieve good examination results, produce well-rounded people, protect the school reputation and empower students. Practising CGCE can also pose practical and ethical challenges pertaining to cultural relativism and moral universalism, managing uncertainty and complexity, and managing uncomfortable emotional reactions.

In conclusion, this thesis calls for greater practical support for schools in practising CGCE, as well as more research to provide further theoretical tools, better understanding of CGCE in relation to curriculum-making, and insight into how students and teachers deal with complexity, uncertainty and emotional discomfort.

Declaration of Authorship

Part of the work presented in this thesis has been published as a chapter in an edited book:

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Other than this:

Declaration of authenticity for doctoral theses

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, contains no material previously published or written in any medium by another person, except where appropriate reference has been made.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
Contents	i
List of tables	vii
List of figures	ix
Acknowledgements	x
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	xi
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Research Aims and Questions	3
Research Questions	4
Key Terms	4
Global Citizenship Education	4
Curriculum	6
Meanings	6
Global North/Global South/The West	7
Outline of the Thesis	8
 Chapter Two: Towards a Critical Global Citizenship Education: An Ideal....	11
Introduction	11
Critical Pedagogy	13
Postcolonial Theory	16
A Framework of Critical Global Citizenship Education	20
Employing this Criticality	33
Conclusion	34
 Chapter Three: The Wider Context: Global Citizenship Education and Schooling in England	37
Introduction	37
Policy Context of GCE in England	38
The History of GCE: Prior to 2010	38
CGCE vs. instrumental agendas	39
The Contemporary Context: Post 2010	41

Core knowledge vs cross-curricular approach	41
School autonomy vs. testing and standardisation.....	42
Critical GCE in Practice	44
Knowledge	46
Curriculum	46
Teacher knowledge	49
Student knowledge	51
Action.....	52
Conclusion	56

Chapter Four: Methods and Methodology: An Ethnographic Approach

.....	59
Introduction	59
Why Ethnography?	60
Introducing Castle School.....	65
Methods for Creating Data	70
Participant Observation	71
Researcher Positionality	75
Semi-Structured Interviews.....	78
Student Discussion Groups	82
Y9 Geography Groups	82
Y12 Photo-elicitation groups	83
Y9 student moderated groups	85
Documents	86
Analysis, Interpretation and Writing	87
Getting to Know the Data	88
Development of Organisational Categories.....	88
Generating Codes.....	89
Searching for Connections and Relationships	91
Developing Themes, Interpretation and Writing.....	93
Relationships and Ethical Responsibilities	94
Relations with Society	95
Validity and Relations with the Research Community	96
Relations with Participants.....	97
Informed Consent.....	97
Privacy	98
Protection from harm.....	99

Conclusion	101
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Chapter Five: Spaces of Critical Global Citizenship Education at Castle

School	103
Introduction.....	103
In Search of GCE at Castle School.....	103
GCE Initiatives	107
International Linking	107
Singaporean Partner School Visit.....	110
Charitable Giving	112
Pink Day	113
Enrichment Week	115
Holocaust and Genocide Education Programme (HGP).....	117
Y9 Holocaust Day	118
ASDAN Award Programmes.....	122
Y8 ASDAN.....	123
Formal Curriculum	125
Y9 Geography, Development Top Trumps.....	131
Y8 French, Sénégal: The Dream Holiday	133
Y8 English, The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time	135
Y8 Geography, Gulf of Mexico Oil Spill.....	138
Spaces of GCE at Castle School	140
Conclusion	143

Chapter Six: Instrumental Agendas of Global Citizenship Education at Castle

School	145
Introduction.....	145
Critical Understandings	146
Instrumental Global Citizenship Agendas	148
Economic Global Citizenship	148
Moral Global Citizenship	155
Helping.....	156
Speaking up, speaking out	160
Cultural Global Citizenship	164
GCE and School Agendas	168
School Reputation	169

Examination Results	170
Producing Well-Rounded People	171
Student Wellbeing and Empowerment	174
Conclusion	179

Chapter Seven: Challenges of A Critical Global Citizenship Education At Castle School..... 181

Introduction	181
Knowledge.....	181
Authority of School Knowledge	182
Dialogue.....	185
It is Easier to Collaborate with Those in the Same Boat	186
Moral Relativism	191
Self-Reflection	194
Emotional Responses.....	194
Complexity.....	197
Responsible Action	200
Uncertainty	200
Authority	202
Conclusion.....	204

Chapter Eight: Conclusion..... 207

Introduction	207
Summary of Findings	207
Contributions.....	209
Strengths and Limitations.....	211
Implications and Recommendations.....	212
Practical Recommendations	213
Recommendations for Research.....	217

Appendices 219

Appendix 1: Introductory Letter to Schools.....	219
Appendix 2: Introductory Email to Staff	222
Appendix 3: Fieldwork Log.....	223
Appendix 4: Example of Jotted and Full Fieldnotes	229

Appendix 5: Teacher interview guide	233
Appendix 6: Parent interview guide.....	234
Appendix 7: Geography Discussion Group interview guide	235
Appendix 8: Introduction to Student Moderated Discussion Groups	236
Appendix 9: Initial List of Codes.....	237
Appendix 10: Ethic Form.....	239
Appendix 11: Student consent form	243
Appendix 12: Teacher Informed Consent	245
References	247

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 1: Soft versus Critical Global Citizenship Education (adapted from Andreotti 2006b) ...</i>	20
<i>Table 2: Comparison of Frameworks of Critical Global Citizenship Education (extended from Marshall 2011)</i>	22
<i>Table 3: Details of Staff Interviews</i>	79
<i>Table 4: Details of Parent Interviews</i>	79
<i>Table 5: Summary of Active School Linking Activities</i>	108
<i>Table 6: Summary of Charitable Events.....</i>	112
<i>Table 7: Summary of Castle School's International Audit</i>	127

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure 1: Traditions of Criticality</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Figure 2: Framework for Critical Global Citizenship Education</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>Figure 3: Overview of Fieldwork.....</i>	<i>71</i>
<i>Figure 4: Example of a Coded Extract.....</i>	<i>90</i>
<i>Figure 5: Example of a Bubble Map</i>	<i>92</i>
<i>Figure 6: Research Relationships and Ethical Responsibilities based on Chaiklin (pers. comm. April 2013).....</i>	<i>95</i>
<i>Figure 7: Extract from Student Worksheet on Roles of Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders and Rescuers.....</i>	<i>120</i>
<i>Figure 8: Destination Sénégal (Meier and Ramage 2004: 84).....</i>	<i>133</i>
<i>Figure 9: JP Morgan Poster Displayed on the Entrance Doors to the Sixth Form</i>	<i>150</i>
<i>Figure 10: Castle School's Anti-bullying Policy.....</i>	<i>161</i>
<i>Figure 11: Poster Displayed on Castle School's Main Corridor.....</i>	<i>165</i>
<i>Figure 12: Extract from Castle School's Prospectus.....</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>Figure 13: Poster Displayed on Castle School's Main Corridor.....</i>	<i>175</i>
<i>Figure 14: Model of the Tensions between Critical Global Citizenship Education and Economic, Moral and Cultural Instrumental Agendas</i>	<i>179</i>
<i>Figure 15: Predicted UK gains and losses resulting from the greenhouse effect in Waugh (1998: 205)</i>	<i>184</i>
<i>Figure 16: Student Mind Map – How I Affect the Global Eco-System.....</i>	<i>198</i>
<i>Figure 17: Research Path for Critical Global Citizenship Education</i>	<i>213</i>
<i>Figure 18: A Framework for Critical Global Citizenship Education Practice.....</i>	<i>215</i>

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CGCE	Critical Global Citizenship Education
CoPE	Certificate of Personal Effectiveness
DAF	Development Awareness Fund
DE	Development Education
DEC	Development Education Centre
DfCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DfE	Department for Education
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DfID	Department for International Development
DT	Design and Technology
ECM	Every Child Matters
EES	Enabling Effective Support
GCE	Global Citizenship Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLP	Global Learning Programme
HET	Holocaust Education Trust
HGP	Holocaust and Genocide Education Programme
HMD	Holocaust Memorial Day
HMDT	Holocaust Memorial Day Trust
HoD	Head of Department
IB	International Baccalaureate

IE	International Education
IEC	International Education Co-ordinator
IOE	Institute of Education
ISA	International School Award
KS3	Key Stage Three
LEDC	Less Economically Developed Country
LFA	Lessons From Auschwitz
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
MEDC	More Economically Developed Country
MFL	Modern Foreign Languages
MNC	Multi-National Company
MPH	Make Poverty History
NAHT	National Association of Head Teachers
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OSDE	Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry
RE	Religious Education
SCM	Social Connection Model
SLT	Senior Leadership Team
SSAT	The Schools Network
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
Y9	Year 9

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Why is it that those displaced by conflict are living in makeshift refugee shelters and battling with asylum laws, while others are free to travel the world at their leisure and stay in relative luxury? Why are some people persecuted for the colour of their skin, their religious beliefs or their political persuasion? Why are vast swaths of forest, land and sea being destroyed in the bid to build new roads, harvest more resources and make more stuff? Why do global corporations encourage the purchase of cheap products fabricated in poor working conditions and at the expense of the environment? These are the kinds of questions which trouble me and piqued my interest in global citizenship education.

Having studied International Development and gained practical experience co-ordinating social and educational projects for a local NGO in Bulgaria, I had become uncomfortable with the idea that international development is something that happens 'out there' in poor countries in the South. In their paper, *What Counts as Development Research?*, Humble and Smith (2007: 14) have urged researchers to challenge the geographical boundaries of development research to interrogate the meaning that development has "for diverse social actors, including those in the North", and I see this research as a small part of this.

Many have argued that education has a crucial role to play in tackling injustices and making the world a more just and sustainable place. Perhaps somewhat idealistically I see education as a means to engage young people with issues of development, globalisation, difference and environment and enable them to reflect on their place within the world. I came to GCE in a roundabout way, via Robert Chambers (Chambers 1997) who calls for a reflective pedagogy of the non-oppressed. His ideas, together with the work of Paolo Freire, Peter McLaren and Michael Apple in the field of critical pedagogy resonated with my own ideas about responsibility in the sense of implicatedness or complicity. Many of the economic, social and environmental challenges facing the world today are complexly interconnected, rooted in the economic system and consumerist lifestyles which have become the norm in the North. I was interested in how their ideas might work in schools in England as a way of exploring issues of inequality, environment and consumerism. And this is where my

Chapter One

interest in CGCE began. Although I have some experience of the secondary classroom through my work as a teaching assistant, I am not a teacher. I come to this research from the field of international development and my interests lie in issues around responsibility, development and globalisation rather than the theory of curriculum and pedagogy *per se*.

Much is riding on education, yet it is not simply learning about issues of development, conflict, difference and environment that is important, but *how* knowledge about these issues is treated, which perspectives are prioritised, how the learner is positioned in relation to knowledge and how he or she understands his or her roles and responsibilities. A lack of attention to these considerations has led to growing criticisms of how global and development issues are taught and learned in formal school contexts (Andreotti 2006b; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Jefferess 2008; Jefferess 2012b; Pashby 2012; Tallon 2012a, b).

Despite claims of globality and inclusion, the lack of analyses of power relations and knowledge construction in this area often results in educational practices that unintentionally reproduce ethnocentric, ahistorical, depoliticised, paternalistic, Salvationist and triumphalist approaches that tend to deficit theorize, pathologize or trivialize difference (Andreotti and de Souza 2012: 1).

A growing body of work suggests that schools often inadvertently dehistoricise and depoliticise complex problems, reproduce stereotypes and ethnocentric attitudes, and promote simplistic, often paternalistic responses to global problems (Andreotti 2006b; Jefferess 2008; Pashby 2012; Taylor 2013).

This has led to calls for a critical approach to teaching and learning about global issues which places social justice at its heart. Critical approaches refer to an educational process which allows for a deeper understanding of “the ideologies, political economic systems, and other structures that create and maintain exploitation, and the ways in which human beings – often through their ordinary actions – are implicated in the suffering of ‘distant’ others” (Bryan 2013: 75). The emphasis is on understanding power relationships, questioning taken-for-granted assumptions, engaging with other voices and perspectives, reflecting on one’s own position, and taking considered, ethical and responsible action. This approach offers a much more complex and nuanced engagement with issues such as development, difference, conflict and environment compared to the ‘soft’ version currently popular in schools (Andreotti 2006b).

However, despite a growing theoretical body of work propounding critical approaches within education, existing research shows that a critical approach to teaching and learning about global issues is largely absent within school settings (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Hunt 2012; Mundy and Manion 2008). Constraints such as lack of time, low teacher confidence and a restricting National Curriculum are cited as key explanations (Davies *et al.* 2005; Marshall 2007b). This contributes to something of a disconnect or a 'reality' gap between the normative critical theory on the one hand and the practice of teaching and learning about global and development issues in schools on the other. It is this gap which provides the starting point for this research.

Rather than providing yet another critique of school practice, this research takes a more positive approach and aims to understand how global and development issues are being taught in an English school and why they take this form given the particular context of the school. It follows a number of calls for more in-depth empirical research (Bryan and Bracken 2011; Mannion *et al.* 2011; Marshall 2011). For example, Balarin (2011: 357) highlights how normative approaches to education need to be accompanied with an understanding of "broader relations between education and the changing forms of the state in the context of globalisation". Similarly, Marshall (2011: 412) argues that the recent body of academic work on critical approaches to teaching and learning about global issues:

must be accompanied by more practical and empirically informed understandings of current school contexts and the hegemonic notions of corporate cosmopolitan capital at play—in other words, no matter how global citizenship education is theorised, there are key theoretical, conceptual and practical questions that need to be asked that expose the normative and instrumentalist agendas at play

Research Aims and Questions

Following these calls, this research sets out to recognise the realities within which schools are working, the complex interplay of instrumental agendas and demands they face, the contradictions, tensions and gaps teachers may encounter when teaching about controversial global issues, and the challenges and opportunities that a critical approach entails in practice. My aim is to be able to learn from the experience of one English secondary school and use those findings to better support critical practice more widely.

Research Questions

- 1) How is global citizenship education practised in one secondary school? What are the meanings and agendas associated with global citizenship education in this school amongst teachers, students and parents?
- 2) What are the challenges and opportunities for a critical global citizenship education?

These questions were explored using an ethnographic study of global citizenship education (GCE) at one English secondary school. In this thesis, GCE refers to teaching and learning about the wider world and our place within it and will be explained further below. A secondary school was chosen due to the greater scope for teaching and learning about global issues at this level compared to primary. The fieldwork was conducted between April 2011 and July 2012 during a time of economic recession, the occupy movement, the Arab Spring and civil war in Syria, as well as the launch of the Kony 2012 campaign by Invisible Children and uncertainties about the National Curriculum in England. These broader events shaped the form and understandings of GCE as it played out in school.

The remainder of this chapter introduces a number of key terms used in this thesis including global citizenship education (GCE), curriculum, discourse and 'North/South'. All other terms used in this thesis are defined in the text as appropriate. I conclude this introductory chapter by providing an overview of the thesis.

Key Terms

Global Citizenship Education

GCE is one of a number of "seemingly similar terms" (Marshall 2007c: 38) used by governments, non-governmental organisations such as Oxfam and Action Aid, and teachers and educators, to refer to teaching and learning about the wider world and our place within it. Broadly speaking, global citizenship is concerned with extending citizenship beyond a national perspective towards a global frame (Pike 2008). It addresses a range of global and development issues including poverty/inequality, globalisation, environment, conflict and cultural difference. Throughout my research I explored many terms including 'global learning' and 'development education'. However, in this thesis I have chosen to use GCE as an umbrella term in much the

same way that Marshall (2007c) uses the term global education, to encompass the vast number of overlapping issue-based educational traditions including development education, environmental education, human rights education, citizenship education, Holocaust and genocide education, international education, multicultural education, peace education and education for sustainable development.

The term was made popular by Oxfam's (2006) *Education for Global Citizenship: A Guide for Schools*. Mannion *et al.* (2011) note that GCE now operates as a 'nodal point' bringing together strands of development education, environmental education and citizenship education within UK policy discourses. It is increasingly visible in educational policy documents and within the rhetoric of schools and practical initiatives.

The term GCE captures the interrelated and complex nature of environmental, social, political and cultural issues rather than attempting to artificially circumscribe and confine each issue to its own educational tradition. For example, Duffield (2001) shows how issues of 'development' are closely intertwined with issues of 'security' and 'conflict'. Similarly, 'development' also has clear environmental connotations (UNDP 2007). The term GCE avoids some of the semantic problems surrounding notions of 'development' and development education, which are grounded in neo-liberal assumptions around 'modernisation' and 'progress' (see e.g. Sachs 1992). However, as I later came to appreciate, the term 'global citizenship', and its components 'global' and 'citizenship', themselves reflect a multitude of ideological, epistemological and philosophical positions (Marshall 2011; Roman 2003; Schattle 2008; Schultz 2007).

Nevertheless, GCE places emphasis on the political nature of citizenship (Huckle 2002) by foregrounding discussions of rights and responsibilities (Davies 2006). The term GCE emphasises not only teaching and learning *about* the world 'out there', but crucially situates the teacher and learner as part of that world. It is about relationship. It is for these reasons that I have chosen to use the term GCE rather than alternative terms global education, global learning or development education.

Hicks (2003) points to problems with such an umbrella usage, illustrating the separate origins of the distinct educational traditions incorporated within GCE, and the difficulties associated with combining them under one roof. These difficulties may be very real, but there are as many tensions and distinctions *within* each tradition as there are between (e.g. Richardson 1974). Rather than attempt to disentangle so many

Chapter One

overlapping traditions and risk getting overwhelmed by traditions of usage, I am therefore choosing to use one particular term, GCE, as a way of enabling debates around topics including similarity and difference, distance and proximity, self and other, universal and particular. As this research concludes, however, this term might not have so much traction in practice.

Curriculum

The term 'curriculum' has several meanings, divergent in their understandings of how far the curriculum is a product or a process, the intent of the curriculum, and the contexts where the curriculum is found. Curriculum is often used in a narrow sense to refer to a text or a programme of teaching and instruction, what is to be taught and what its purposes and objectives are (Kelly 2004). This is part of curriculum. However, like Young (1971) and Lambert (2013), I see curriculum as more complex than this. In this thesis, curriculum is understood as a process, which represents decisions about what to teach (Lambert 2013). This definition acknowledges the agency of teachers in selecting knowledge and making judgments about how it is taught and treated within the classroom. This process is widely regarded as a socially constructed activity grounded in historical and disciplinary tradition rather than a given process. What counts as legitimate knowledge is therefore the result of complex historical and contemporary power struggle (Apple 2000b). I will expand on the socially-constructed nature of knowledge in chapter two.

In this thesis, curriculum includes both planned and unplanned or hidden elements, that is, those things that students learn at school because of the way the school day or relationships are organised rather than through conscious planning (Kelly 2004). However, I distinguish between the formal curriculum, which I define as those activities (planned and unplanned) that take place in timetabled subject lessons, and the informal curriculum which includes all those activities (planned and unplanned) that take place at other times and spaces within the school including collapsed timetable days, registration, lunchtimes and after school 'extracurricular' activities (Kelly 2004).

Meanings

This thesis is concerned with the meanings surrounding GCE within one secondary school. The way that meanings are conceptualised within this thesis is closely linked to

discourse, yet ‘meanings’ acknowledge the agency of actors – teachers, pupils and parents – in making meaning in a way that discourse does not. As Van Dijk (1997: 1) says, “the notion of discourse is essentially fuzzy”. A discourse is “an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to phenomena” (Gasper and Abthorpe 1996 in Hilhorst 2003: 8). Often, this system of concepts, ideas, and social practices, “appears natural, obvious, and without question” (Bloome *et al.* 2008: 53). In this sense, a discourse is understood as a relatively coherent set of references which frames the way we understand and act upon the world around us (Hilhorst 2003). It is a way of thinking which structures how people think, act and interpret (Fairclough 1989).

However, discourse is not static and people are not passive. People adapt, create, challenge and transform systems of ideas and meanings, as well as being constrained by them. In contrast to a Foucauldian understanding of discourse, this thesis recognises multiple realities and the agency of people in adopting and adapting meanings to their own realities (Hilhorst 2003). It is about discoursing (the view of discourse as a verb – to discourse – or meaning making) as this emphasises the actions which people take through language in order to create, maintain, challenge or transform the systems of ideas and ideologies (Bloome *et al.* 2008). Combining these two definitions enables recognition of people’s agency in constructing meaning, as well as the ways they are constrained by ideologies and structures.

Global North/Global South/The West

The terms ‘North’, ‘South’ and ‘West’ are controversial, especially in relation to discussions around poverty, inequality and development. But so are the terms ‘developed’ and ‘developing’, ‘Less Economically Developed Country (LEDC)’ and ‘More Economically Developed Country (MEDC)’, ‘First World’ and ‘Third World’. These terms understate the complexity of ideas around economic progress and conceal nuances within the distributions of resources, labour and power across the globe. They perpetuate simplistic binaries and are also geographically misleading (Andreotti 2006a). However, for the sake of clarity, at times during this thesis I have chosen to use the terms ‘North’ and ‘South’. Sometimes I also use the terms ‘West’ or ‘Western’. Like Dhillon (1999), I use the term ‘Western’ to refer to dominant ideology (linked to capitalism and neoliberalism which prioritise the logic of market rationality) arising from European or American modes of thought. I do not distinguish ‘Western’ from

Chapter One

‘non-Western’ along geographic or cultural lines. The terms LEDC and MEDC are only used in this thesis where they are used by participants.

Outline of the Thesis

There are eight chapters in this thesis. Within these chapters I have incorporated reflective pieces, which give an insight into the decision-making process which went into this research and provide a strong element of reflexivity.

Chapter two starts by introducing the critical approach to GCE – critical global citizenship education (CGCE). It draws upon two traditions of criticality, critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory, which have had a significant influence over CGCE. As well as highlighting their respective contributions to GCE, I also offer a sympathetic critique of these traditions. In the second part of the chapter, I conceptualise CGCE using a framework of four concepts: knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action. This chapter highlights that CGCE is about questioning the basis of knowledge and understanding the structures and systems that create and maintain injustice, dialoguing across difference in order to learn from other ways of doing and being, reflecting on our own implication in injustice through our ordinary actions, and acting and being responsibly on the basis of knowledge and understanding. This framework forms the basis of my understanding of CGCE and is used throughout the thesis in the analysis of the data.

While the version of CGCE offered in chapter two is highly normative and idealistic, chapter three turns to outline the contemporary context of GCE policy and practice in English schools, the wider context of this research. I outline the changing policy context which is characterised by a shift in emphasis towards core, subject-based knowledge, a move away from local authority management through the rise in schools acquiring academy status, and on-going standardised testing and assessment. The second section provides a review of existing research about (critical) GCE in schools focusing upon two key debates: knowledge and action. The chapter argues that there is a disconnect between the theoretical ideal of CGCE described in chapter two and the realities of school practice described in this chapter. It questions whether the focus on agency within CGCE may have been overstated, hindering full consideration of the complex political, economic and social realities in which schools are working. It concludes by

highlighting the need for further in-depth research into the realities of GCE in schools in order to explore the opportunities and challenges for practising a critical approach.

In Chapter four I introduce the ethnographic approach developed in this study. This consisted of visits over the course of more than one academic year to Castle School¹, a secondary school in the south of England with a good reputation for GCE, in order to explore how GCE plays out there. Methods included participant observation, interviews, discussion groups, and collection of documents, which allowed detailed understandings of how GCE was practised and understood from the perspectives of teachers, students and their parents. The data were analysed using a combination of influences drawing upon thematic, narrative and critical discursive techniques, which developed overtime in a dialectic process that weaved between the theory and the data in order to develop the arguments made in this thesis. Chapter four also considers wider methodological issues and ethical considerations which arose through my research relationships.

Chapter five provides thick descriptions of the practices associated with GCE at Castle School. These include international school linking, charitable initiatives, an expansive Holocaust and Genocide Education programme, ASDAN courses, enrichment week and the formal curriculum. Despite some 'softer' examples of GCE, this chapter illustrates the opportunities for CGCE including questioning knowledge, dialogue across difference, self-reflection and responsible every day decision-making, particularly in those activities which are part of the formal curriculum. However, chapter five shows how GCE occupies a contradictory place in relation to the school curriculum at Castle School. On the one hand, the status of 'GCE' was couched in uncertainty and confusion and was seen as something separate from the curriculum, while on the other, the curriculum offered opportunities for critical engagement where teachers were motivated and supported to explore and adapt it accordingly.

Many members of the community at Castle School described elements of a critical approach to GCE. However, chapter six turns to consider how this is constrained by the multiple agendas at play. These included economic, moral and cultural agendas

¹ A pseudonym has been used to maintain the anonymity of the school.

² This reflective interlude is based a reflective piece published elsewhere (Blackmore 2013)

Chapter One

influenced by many different actors including the government, corporations, NGOs and the media. The strength of these agendas made it difficult to question taken-for-granted assumptions about the global economy, doing the 'right' thing, and promoting tolerance and understanding. I argue that it is important to understand how these agendas operate since they are used to justify the existence of GCE at Castle School in relation to specific school functions of achieving good examination results, producing well-rounded people, protecting the reputation of the school and empowering students.

The challenges associated with CGCE are developed in chapter seven where I illustrate some of the practical and ethical difficulties surrounding CGCE, suggesting that critical engagement can be difficult and at times uncomfortable. Chapter seven points to the norms of authority that students may invest in school knowledge, the difficulties in engaging with difference, and the tension between cultural relativism and moral universalism which makes it difficult to question other views. I illustrate how self-reflection can trigger uncomfortable emotional responses and how the current focus on action can prompt uncertainties amongst teachers and students about knowing what to do.

Chapter eight concludes by summarising the main arguments of this thesis, highlighting the main strengths and weaknesses, and offering some recommendations for research and practice. Despite many examples of CGCE, I argue that there is scope for greater recognition of the place of GCE in relation to the school curriculum. However, schools and teachers need support in order to be able to question dominant assumptions, engage in effective dialogue, promote self-reflection and encourage informed and responsible actions. This research also questions the utility of the umbrella term GCE in relation to practice and suggests that academics need to go further in supporting schools with CGCE. This research has contributed by giving some recognition to the realities within which schools are working.

CHAPTER TWO

TOWARDS A CRITICAL GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

EDUCATION: AN IDEAL

Introduction

The language of the 'critical' is very familiar within GCE theory, policy and practice. This masks a variety of critical traditions from critical thinking to critical pedagogy. Whereas ideas of critical thinking dominate contemporary policy and practice, GCE has traditionally been rooted in critical pedagogy (Walkington 2000). More recently there has been vigorous engagement with postcolonial and postdevelopment theories which emphasise the importance of a critical understanding of power dynamics and a concern with social justice (see e.g. Andreotti 2011; Andreotti 2006b; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Eidoo *et al.* 2011; Jefferess 2008; Jefferess 2012b; Lapayese 2003; Pashby 2012; Rizvi 2009; Tallon 2012a; Todd 2008). This study takes CGCE as its theoretical starting point. While I considered using other frameworks including neoliberalism and liberal humanism, it is critical theory that takes social justice, ethics and transformation at its heart and has inspired much of my thinking about GCE including the way I have framed my research questions.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore what is meant by CGCE. In the first section I draw on two traditions of criticality – critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory – and highlight their respective contributions to CGCE. In doing so, I offer a sympathetic critique of these traditions. In the second part of the chapter, CGCE is conceptualised using a framework of four concepts: knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action. CGCE is not about telling learners what they should think or do but offers an approach based on social-constructionism which encourages learners to examine the political and historical basis of knowledge, engage with multiple perspectives, examine their own implication within knowledge and practice, and act responsibly. It is associated with a pedagogy based upon participation, discussion and reflection. This version of CGCE is highly normative and can be seen as an ideal. The framework developed here will be used in conversation with the empirical material in chapters five and seven.

Traditions of Criticality

‘Critical’ has essentially become a buzzword, a popular slogan of imprecise meaning (Edelsky and Cherland 2006 in Johnson and Morris 2010). It derives from the Greek *kriticos* which means the ability to judge or argue (Luke 2012) and broadly means “going against the “grain” of thinking about the social and intellectual organisation of everyday life” (Popkewitz 1999: 2) or “to think anew, *to think differently*” (Burbules and Beck 1999: 59). There are many traditions of criticality including neo-pragmatic, neo-Marxist, critical literary theory, postmodernist, and postcolonialist schools of thought (Popkewitz 1999: 2). Traditions of criticality fall into two main camps: technical and political (Burbules and Beck 1999). This is illustrated in the figure below.

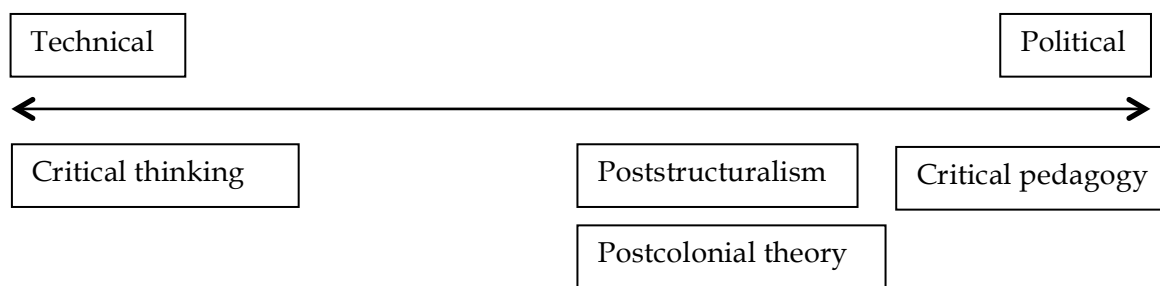


Figure 1: Traditions of Criticality

These critical traditions share an assumption of a reality, in something real, albeit a reality that is changeable. They also both require passion – passion for reason in the case of critical thinking and passion for social justice in the case of critical pedagogy (Burbules and Beck 1999). However, there are also many differences between them. Critical thinking emphasises technical skills such as the application of logic, conceptual analysis and epistemological reflection. It is about identifying the evidentiary basis of claims including faulty arguments, hasty generalisations, assertions lacking evidence, truth claims based on unreliable authority, ambiguous or obscure concepts. It strives for impartiality and focuses on reforming an individual’s thinking (Burbules and Beck 1999; Johnson and Morris 2010).

At the other end of the scale is critical pedagogy which rejects impartiality, instead taking the side of the oppressed or marginalised. Critical pedagogy is concerned with social justice. It is concerned primarily with the politics of knowledge rather than the truth content *per se*. It takes issue with the workings of capitalism and aims to reform both thought and practice in order to change institutional settings and relations

between individuals (Burbules and Beck 1999). Poststructuralism and postcolonial theory share critical pedagogy's focus on the political but are not as action-orientated; hence they have been placed away from the end of the continuum.

These politically-orientated traditions date to the work of Marx in the nineteenth century, if not before, and are rooted in the Frankfurt School of critical theory, which is associated with the work of Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno and Herbert Marcuse and its present proponent, Jurgen Habermas. Like critical pedagogy, critical theory is concerned with social justice. It is about changing the world rather than understanding (interpretivism) or explaining it (positivism) (Kincheloe and McLaren 2005). It places importance on values, judgments and qualities in human life (Carr and Kemmis 1986) and refers to a broad band of arguments about power (Popkewitz 1999).

It is not possible or necessary within the confines of this thesis to review all of these critical traditions in detail. Instead, this section provides a sympathetic, yet critical overview of the two main critical traditions which have influenced GCE theory: critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory. This is not to deny the influence of critical thinking on GCE policy and practice, or to disregard the overlaps between these traditions and others including post-development theory, poststructuralism and critical literacy.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy has had a long-standing influence on GCE (Bourn 2003; Walkington 2000). It grew out of Brazilian educationalist, Paulo Freire's (1970/1996) work on adult literacy and, along with its close relation – critical literacy –, has since inspired many different initiatives around the world. In his seminal *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970/1996), Freire critiques the traditional 'banking' model of education where knowledge is seen as an object to be simply transferred from teacher to student. In the extreme, this model sees students as "empty vessels to be filled with facts, or sponges to be saturated with official information, or vacant bank accounts to be filled with deposits from the required syllabus" (Shor 1993: 26). Instead, Freire (1970/1996) recognises the knowledge and experiences that students bring to the classroom as a basis for developing generative themes. For him, knowledge is constructed and students should learn how to question knowledge through a problem-posing approach.

Chapter Two

The concept of dialogue is central to Freire's problem-posing pedagogy. In a challenge to the traditional authoritarian teacher, the teacher acts as a facilitator, posing critical problems in which teachers and learners engage together in dialogue. True dialogue involves interplay between the local experiences and understandings that students bring to the classroom and the knowledge that the teacher brings. The importance of balance between everyday knowledge and theoretical knowledge has been recognised by GCE critic, Standish (2012: 94) who argues that, "Only through abstractions from everyday experiences, and from a given social context, can we begin to see connections that are imperceptible at the concrete and personal levels". For Freire (1970/1996: 72), this process of dialogue is founded upon love, faith and humility. The idea is that both teacher and students will learn from one another in order to reach a new critical consciousness or *conscientização*.

Critical consciousness is the starting point for transforming oppressive structures. In order to bring about transformation, Freire's (1970/1996) concept of praxis is central. Praxis refers to a balance between action and reflection. As Burbules and Beck (1999: 52) explain, "Changing thought and practice must occur together; they fuel one another". The dangers of an imbalance are explained by Freire himself: too much reflection can lead to verbalism, while too much action can lead to activism – "action for action's sake" (Freire 1970/1996: 69). These ideas about the social construction of knowledge, dialogue, and praxis have made a significant contribution to GCE pedagogy which is based on discussion, action and reflection. In particular, as well as deconstruction and critique, Freirian critical pedagogy has the potential to offer a positive focus on action (Reid 2012).

However, although critical pedagogy has been inspirational for many, it is not without criticism. It has been accused of indoctrination (Burbules and Beck 1999; Freedman 2007). Freedman (2007: 444) explains:

Critical educators typically enter classrooms with pre-formulated political objectives. Their goal is not to bring out students' independent thoughts, as it were, like a genie out of a lamp, but to alter students' ways of thinking to confirm with a preconceived notion of what constitutes a critical thought.

He argues that critical pedagogy sets teachers up to promote a specific method of socio-political analysis which discredits certain views and prejudges what students' conclusions should be. In principle dialogue should prevent indoctrination but in

practice the ideal speech conditions needed to achieve true dialogue are impossible to achieve in classrooms because of institutionalised power between students and teachers (Bartlett 2005; Ellsworth 1989; Kaufmann 2010). This means that some voices and heard above others and teachers' voices are likely to carry more weight because of their position of authority.

Critical pedagogues respond to this criticism by maintaining that "indoctrination is the case already" (Burbules and Beck 1999: 54-55). All forms of education are political, whether or not this is explicitly acknowledged. Shor (1993: 27) explains:

Politics is in the teacher-student relationship, whether authoritarian or democratic. Politics is in the subjects chosen for the syllabus and in those left out. It is also in the method of choosing course content, whether it is a shared decision or only the teacher's prerogative, whether there is a negotiated curriculum in the classroom or one imposed unilaterally.

Within critical pedagogy then, teaching how to think critically and how to think politically is the same thing (Burbules and Beck 1999: 55). Bringing students to criticality can only be done by alerting them to the social conditions that have brought about oppression.

Critical pedagogy has also been criticised for its treatment of power. There is a tendency to adopt a sovereign view of power, where power is understood as something that people can own (Popkewitz and Fendler 1999). This creates a dichotomous view of the world in which there are two groups: oppressor and oppressed. The oppressors and oppressed are often identified as belonging categorically to a specific class, bureaucracy, race and/or gender. As Popkewitz (1999: 5) explains, "The inherent principle is that if one can change the actors who rule, a more equitable and just society will be produced". This assumption is manifest in the geographical bias of GCE in Europe and North America and the expectation that engaging Northern students with global and development issues will lead to greater sustainability and justice. However, this way of thinking draws on simplistic notions of emancipation and empowerment, often caught in a colonial way of thinking which defines particular social groups as unified entities (Popkewitz and Fendler 1999).

The work of Foucault and other 'post' theorists points to the limitations of the power as sovereignty view. While it might have some traction, it does not acknowledge the productive effects of power. For example, how power circulates through institutional practices and discourses of daily life, constructing both boundaries and

Chapter Two

possibilities (Popkewitz 1999: 4). This links to Ellsworth's (1989) critique of critical pedagogy. She argues that people do not have a singular identity as 'oppressed' or 'oppressor' but that subjectivities are multiple and shifting and cut across and between various dimensions of oppression along lines of gender, race, age, size, class etc. These complex subjectivities and flows of power can make it difficult to engage in dialogue in the Freirean sense as it is not always possible to voice certain experiences because of the complex power dynamics at play. Some postcolonial theorists have grappled with a more sophisticated treatment of power, another area of critical theory that has made a significant contribution to GCE in recent years.

Postcolonial Theory

Like critical pedagogy, postcolonial theories share a concern with power and unequal and exploitative North-South relations (Santos 2010). There are many different strands of postcolonial theory rather than a static or homogenous approach (Andreotti and de Souza 2012). Postcolonial theory is also closely related to postdevelopment and poststructuralist traditions. It arose in response to colonialism and imperialism, where colonialism is the direct control and occupation of another territory and imperialism is the exercise of domination from afar (Pashby 2012). The 'post' in postcolonial is not (only) a historical temporal construct, but is concerned with a contemporary analysis of practices and discourses which continue to contribute to unequal power relations and social hierarchies between North and South. This includes indirect domination of space and people via multinational companies (MNCs), international financial institutions, global governance mechanisms, and even financial investment, policy coercion and charity (Peet and Hardwick 2009).

The work of key postcolonial theorists such as Franz Fanon, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak has already been analysed in relation to education by a number of theorists (Andreotti 2011; Rizvi *et al.* 2006). This section offers only a brief sketch of postcolonial theory's main contributions to GCE. There are two main strands of postcolonial theory which have something to offer the field of GCE (Andreotti 2011). Firstly, it provides a way of questioning and dissecting prevailing structures and dominant discourses including ideas about 'development', 'difference', and 'helping'. In doing so, postcolonial theory brings an epistemological shift in which knowledge is understood as being situated, partial and incomplete (Andreotti 2010; Santos 2010). It is concerned with "revealing the situatedness of knowledge, and particularly the

universalising knowledge produced in imperial Europe” (McEwan 2009: 34 in Ziai 2011). It draws attention to the political processes at work in processes of knowledge production. This can contribute to a different understanding of past and contemporary injustices and the limitations of current ways of thinking and relating.

One of the major contributions in this respect has been Said’s work on Othering. Said (1978/2003) defines ‘Othering’ in terms of a process by which the Orient, or the Other is defined in relation to the material or economic standards set by the North. Through an analysis of literary texts, he demonstrated that negative and stereotypical representations about the Orient were created in such a way as to protect the interests of colonial power. Through cultural representations, a binary opposition was created between the strange, irrational and backward “them” and the familiar, rational and civilised “us”. This opposition is central to European identity (Andreotti 2011). Although criticised for assuming a static relationship between self and other, domination and subordination (Bhabha 1983 in Andreotti 2011), Said’s work has enabled researchers to challenge the deficit theorisation of difference within GCE. It also focuses on the political and historical processes surrounding knowledge construction.

The second major contribution of postcolonial theory to GCE lies in its attempts to listen to alternative voices. In doing so, it offers the possibility of constructing knowledge and ways of being ‘otherwise’ (Andreotti 2011). As Santos (1998: 122) explains, reality is not limited to that which exists:

By critical theory I mean the theory that does not reduce “reality” to what exists. Reality, however conceived it may be, is considered by critical theory as a field of possibilities, the task of critical theory being precisely to define and assess the level of variation that exists beyond what is empirically given (Santos 1998: 122).

In this sense postcolonial theory brings a language of possibility (Giroux cited in Burbules and Beck 1999: 60) to GCE. Unlike some critical projects, postcolonial theory does not specify what this ‘otherwise’ might look like. It is about “stopping oneself from always wanting to correct, teach, theorise, develop, colonise, appropriate, use, record, inscribe, enlighten” (Kapoor 2004: 642). Rather, it is about being open to being taught by the Other.

Postcolonial theory also offers insights into the challenges involved in eliciting, engaging with and hearing multiple perspectives. In particular, this brings to mind

Chapter Two

Gayatri Spivak's famous question, *Can the subaltern speak?* In her essay, Spivak (1988) raises a number of criticisms pertaining to issues of voice and representation. Using the example of widow sacrifice (*sati*) in colonial India, she describes how the widows' own voices are silenced between the British 'civilising mission' in which 'white men are saving brown women from brown men', and the Hindi explanation, which maintains that 'the women wanted to die anyway' (Kapoor 2004: 627). Her example shows how the voices of the women are repressed and shaped by relations of power and intertwined with the language and discourse of colonialism (Ziai 2011).

In relation to GCE, the issue of representation seems particularly pertinent. Referring to the institutional structures of international development, Kapoor (2004: 637) argues that, "far from being neutral relays, they [institutional structures] filter, reinterpret, appropriate, hijack the subaltern's voice". The same could be said in relation to educational structures and institutions. This allows educators to raise questions about the ways in which policy-makers and advisors, curriculum designers, textbook writers and teachers/educators select, portray and use stories, literature and materials from different perspectives.

However, despite these valuable contributions to GCE, postcolonial theory is also subject to a wide-range of criticisms from the political right and the political left, as well as on a theoretical level (Rizvi *et al.* 2006). For example, some strands and applications of postcolonial theory have tended to romanticise indigenous and marginalised voices (Ziai 2011). In doing so, there is a danger of essentialism in which the perspectives of a whole group are homogenized into a single, collective voice which remains relatively fixed over time (Kapoor 2004; Rizvi *et al.* 2006). Granting a single voice fails to account for the heterogeneity of experience or knowledge and can give the impression of 'purity' or 'authenticity' in relation to the account or story of the oppressed. This can produce a celebratory, romanticised approach in which voices of the oppressed are valued above other accounts without being subjected to the same critical rigor as 'dominant' perspectives (Ziai 2011).

Postcolonial theory has been resisted by many indigenous intellectuals because it is viewed "as the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which re-inscribes their power to define their world" (Smith 1999: 14 in Pashby 2012: 17). Their criticism maintains that postcolonial theory is complicit in the very structures of global capitalism it seeks to challenge (Rizvi *et al.* 2006). However, other strands of

postcolonial thought seek to disrupt these persistent North/South, oppressor/oppressed binaries by drawing attention to complex, multiple and shifting subjectivities which work across boundaries (Ballie Smith 2013). This is particularly so in the work of Bhabha and Spivak who analyse complex relational processes (Andreotti 2011).

Furthermore, while postcolonial theory enables complex analyses of the cultural implications of contemporary structures of global capitalism, it does not engage with economic assumptions, arrangements and relationships (Egan 2012). Egan (2012: 50) argues that postcolonial theory:

...does not adequately capture [...] the supra-national characteristics and operations of global corporations, the impact of migration on societies in the global North, and the impact of neoliberal globalisation on both the global North and global South.

This is significant in relation to GCE, especially given the instrumental policy context which focuses on preparing young people for their role in the global economy (DfES 2005, 2004; Think Global 2011a; Think Global and British Council 2011). Chapter three will cover the wider policy context in greater detail. The point here is that there is a need for tools to facilitate critical engagement with questions such as what the global economy is, how global corporations secure and sustain their power, and what the nature of global competition is. These are currently not adequately addressed within postcolonial theory. Critical literature on the role of education in relation to the political economy may offer some insights (for example Lauder *et al.* 2012b). I will return to this issue in chapters six and eight.

This section has pointed to the main contributions of critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory in relation to GCE, as well as their limitations. In summary, critical pedagogy offers concepts of dialogue, praxis and a view of knowledge as socially constructed. Postcolonial theory further deepens this view of the social construction of knowledge by offering tools to deconstruct dominant discourses and power structures, as well as insights into the importance of learning about other ways of being and doing. The main critiques concern the limited treatment of power within critical pedagogy and essentialist views of identity within some strands of postcolonial theory. There is also a dearth of tools, concepts and methods of analysis for engaging with the economic elements of GCE within these traditions.

A Framework of Critical Global Citizenship Education

Given these limitations, Andreotti and de Souza (2012: 2) suggest that postcolonial theories can best be understood as “tools-for-thinking” rather than “theories-of-truth”. The same can be said for critical pedagogy. Drawing on both critical pedagogy/critical literacy and postcolonial theories, Andreotti (2006b) offers a critique of what she refers to as ‘soft’ GCE and proposes a critical approach to GCE. In the soft approach, GCE tends to remain descriptive, focusing on awareness raising and encouraging learners to help others less fortunate than themselves by donating time, money and resources. The problem with this is that it does not encourage critical reflection on the causes of global and development problems, and young people with good intentions and motivated to ‘save the world’ may inadvertently “project their beliefs and myths as universal and reproduce power relations and violences similar to those in colonial times” (Andreotti 2006b: 1).

In contrast, the critical encourages learners to question and reflect upon the political structures which underpin inequalities in power and wealth (Andreotti 2006b). It tries to promote change, not by telling learners what they should think or do but by “creating spaces where they are safe to analyse and experiment with other forms of seeing/thinking and being/relating to one another” (Andreotti 2006b: 7). While the ‘soft’ approach is appropriate in some contexts, Andreotti warns that the critical approach is necessary in the search for social justice. The two approaches are summarised in table 1 below.

Table 1: Soft versus Critical Global Citizenship Education

	Soft Global Citizenship Education	Critical Global Citizenship Education
Problem	Poverty, helplessness	Inequality, injustice
Nature of the problem	Lack of ‘development’, education, resources, skills	Complex structures, systems, assumptions, power relations and attitudes that create and maintain exploitation, and eliminate difference
Justification for positions of privilege	‘Development’, ‘history’, education, harder work, better organisation, better uses of resources, technology	Benefit from and control over unjust and violent systems and structures
Basis for caring	Common humanity Responsibility FOR the other	Justice/complicity in harm Responsibility TOWARDS the other

Towards a Critical Global Citizenship Education

Grounds for acting	Humanitarian/moral	Political/ethical
Understanding of interdependence	We are all equally interconnected, we all want the same thing, we can all do the same thing	Asymmetrical globalisation, unequal power relationships, Northern and Southern elites imposing own assumptions as universal
What needs to change	Structures, institutions and individuals that prevent development	Structures, (belief)systems, institutions, assumptions, cultures, individuals, relationships
What for	So that everyone achieves development, harmony, tolerance and equality	So that injustices are addressed, more equal grounds for dialogue are created, and people have more autonomy to define their own development
Role of 'ordinary' individuals	Some individuals are part of the problem, but ordinary people are part of the solution	We are all part of the problem and the solution
What individuals can do	Support campaigns to change structures, donate time, expertise and resources	Analyse own position/context and participate in changing structures, assumptions, identities, attitudes and power relations in their contexts
How does change happen	From the top down	From the bottom up
Basic principle for change	Universalism	Reflexivity, dialogue, and an ethical relation to difference
Goal of DE	Empower individuals to act according to what has been defined for them as a good life or ideal world	Empower individuals to reflect critically on their cultures and contexts, to imagine different futures and to take responsibility for their decisions and actions
Strategies for DE	Raising awareness of global issues and promoting campaigns	Promoting engagement with global issues/perspectives and an ethical relationship to difference, addressing complexity and power relations
Potential benefits of DE	Greater awareness of some of the problems, support for campaigns, greater motivation to help, feel good factor	Independent/critical thinking and more informed, responsible and ethical action
Potential problems	Feelings of self-importance, self-righteousness and/or cultural supremacy, reinforcement of colonial assumptions and relations, reinforcement of privilege, uncritical action	Guilt, internal conflict and paralysis, critical disengagement, feelings of helplessness

Source: Adapted from Andreotti (2006b)

Since Andreotti published this framework, a number of others have taken up the challenge of CGCE. In order to find an approach which is easily applicable in a research context, I have reviewed and compared a number of these frameworks as

Chapter Two

illustrated in table 2 below. The columns comprise four critical frameworks stemming from the traditions of critical pedagogy, critical literacy and postcolonial theory. The rows are aligned to show similarities between concepts across the different frameworks. Having found considerable convergence between frameworks, it was not considered necessary to look further.

Table 2: Comparison of Frameworks of Critical Global Citizenship Education

Key paper	Johnson and Morris (2010)	Lewison, Flint and Van Sluys (2002)	Andreotti and de Sousa (2008a)	Rizvi (2009)
Critical tradition	Critical Pedagogy	Critical Literacy	Postcolonial theory	Postcolonial theory
Key concepts	Politics/Ideology	Disrupting the commonplace	Learning to learn	Historicity and Criticality
	Self/Subjectivity		Learning to unlearn	Reflexivity
	Social/Collective	Interrogating multiple viewpoints	Learning to listen	Relationality
	Praxis/Engagement	Taking action and promoting social justice	Learning to reach out	

Source: Extended from Marshall (2011)

Based on this table, and aware of the strengths and limitations of the critical traditions as discussed above, I have put together a framework of CGCE as used in this thesis. The four concepts which make up the framework include knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action. I have chosen not to identify specific competences i.e. specific knowledge, skills and dispositions that individuals can possess since this individualises GCE (Mannion *et al.* 2011). It suggests that once individuals have the ‘right’ set of knowledge, skills, values and dispositions, justice will simply follow (Biesta *et al.* 2009). This is an oversimplification – thinking about GCE is complex and controversial. As McCollum (179 in Lapayese 2003: 499) writes:

Rather than producing prescriptive models or blueprints for citizenship education, there is a need to identify core principles and concepts that are widely debated and negotiated and tested collaboratively in the development of new practices.

This is how I see the concepts of GCE illustrated in the diagram below: knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action. These concepts are closely interrelated as indicated by the arrows and discussed in the text that follows. Here they are laid out as ideals. In practice, they will always be framed by a particular teaching and learning context.

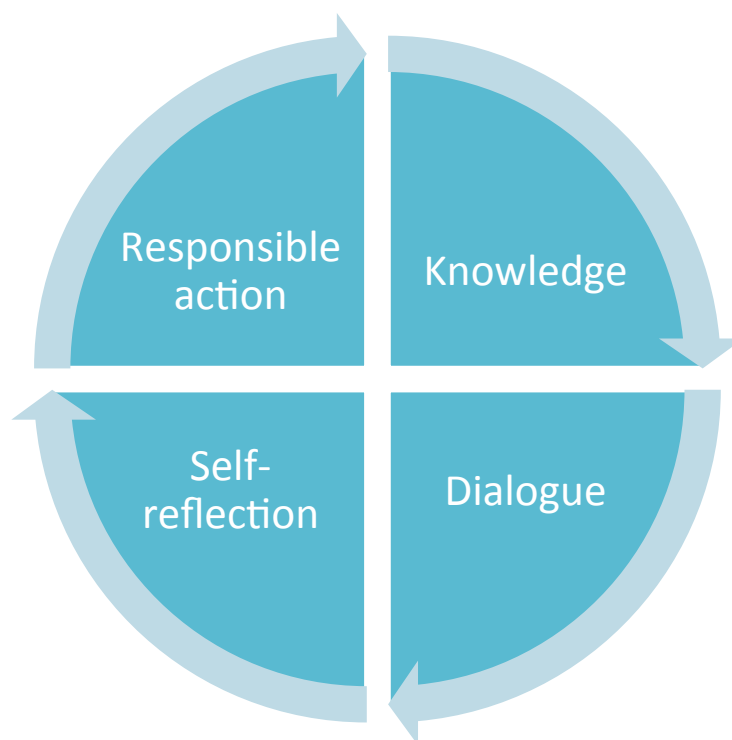


Figure 2: Framework for Critical Global Citizenship Education

Together, these concepts provide a framework for analysing and engaging in discussions around GCE policy and practice (see chapter three) and as a tool for analysis (see chapters five and seven). The remainder of this chapter expands on each of these concepts

Knowledge

CGCE takes a constructionist approach to knowledge (Bourn 2011; Walkington 2000), which recognises that knowledge is situated, partial and incomplete (Andreotti 2010). According to social constructionism, knowledge is constructed in relationship between individuals depending on their context (Cohen *et al.* 2007) – knowledge is “fluid, open to negotiation and always provisional” (Andreotti 2010: 6). It always comes from somewhere, from a particular historical and political context and all knowledge can be questioned. There is no absolute ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answer and different people might draw different conclusions depending on their experiences and perspectives. This view of knowledge is closely aligned with the Freirean critical pedagogy described above.

CGCE sees this process of knowledge construction as explicitly political. For example, although concepts such as globalisation or development may appear ‘neutral’ and

Chapter Two

inclusive, they often hide inequalities and obscure the power dynamics which produce and reproduce inequalities. Take globalisation, which is often treated as an inevitable and natural concept, marked by a “widening, intensifying, speeding up and growing impact of world-wide interconnectedness” (Held 2002: 61). Held’s account of globalisation appears politically neutral and uncontroversial. However, as Dobson (2005) shows, Held, like many others, overlooks the asymmetries manifest within historical and contemporary processes of globalisation in which wealth and power is divided unequally, and in which the very possibility of becoming ‘global’ is unbalanced. Held’s definition obscures the way in which social, political and economic connections cross boundaries in one direction only, hiding the unequal geometries of power in which some are able to control connections, while others have no choice but to move or migrate (Massey 2005). It is by ignoring the political and historical context of globalisation that neoliberalism – that is, the political ideology with market rationality at its core (Connell 2013) – is naturalised. Spivak refers to this as the ‘disavowel’ of the history of imperialism or ‘sanctioned ignorance’ of the unequal balance of power between the North and South in the global capitalist system (see Andreotti 2011).

Critical approaches to GCE therefore aim to explore and make explicit the historical and contemporary manifestations of power. To be critical is to question the historical causes of contemporary problems such as poverty, globalisation and environmental damage (Andreotti 2006b). It is about asking *why* (Tallon 2011) – like the questions which opened this thesis. Why are some people in a position to be able to offer help while others live a hand-to-mouth existence? In order to understand the context of knowledge, it is also important to ask *who is saying this, where is this account coming from, and in whose interests does this account serve* (Pashby 2012). Asking these kinds of questions is what Andreotti and de Souza (2008a) mean when they talk of learning to learn in table 2. In this way, the critical approach resists an oversimplification of North-South relations and emphasises the complexity of identities, problems and issues. This may entail “moving from a universalist and ordered view of the world to one that recognises complex, multifaceted and different means of interpretation” (Bourn and Neal 2008 in Bourn 2011: 25).

However, a critical approach is not an invitation to simply construct your own knowledge or a rejection of theoretical knowledge developed over time by experts, as Standish (2012: 72) fears in relation to some current manifestations of GCE. It is not an

'anything goes' approach where everything can be reduced to perspective and standpoint (i.e. relativism) and "no grounds can be offered for teaching any one thing rather than any other (or ultimately, for teaching anything at all!) (Moore and Young 2001: 449).

As mentioned above, Freire recognised the need for dialogue between learners' everyday knowledge and teachers' theoretical knowledge. Lambert (2013) too points to the importance of theoretical, subject knowledge in enabling individuals to understand the world in ways that are not readily available in the everyday, while Young and Muller (2010) remind us that learners cannot know what they do not know. Similarly, Gilbert (2005: 156) argues that learners, thinkers and investigators need raw materials – things to think about, learn and investigate. Things to do things with". These can be provided by theoretical knowledge. However, Lambert (2013) cautions that theoretical/subject knowledge should not be accepted in blind faith but met with an attitude of critical engagement. This, he argues, requires teachers who have a wide appreciation and understanding of their subject discipline to prepare them to engage their students critically with the various forms of human knowledge (Lambert 2013: 95).

Young's (2008) social realist approach is useful here. He recognises the importance and objectivity of theoretical and subject-based knowledge (concepts, theories, ideas etc.) but notes that these too are socially constructed, situated within a particular sociocultural and historical context, influenced by cultural and epistemological traditions, yet changing over time. These can be referred to as 'knowledge structures' and maintain the distinction between school and non-school knowledge, curriculum and pedagogy, the hierarchical nature of pedagogy where the teacher has access to theoretical knowledge that the students do not and differentiation between subjects (Young and Muller 2010). For Young and Muller (2010), these boundaries provide conditions of innovation and learning. I argue that this approach is consistent with the critical traditions outlined above – even Freire recognised the importance of the distinction between learners' everyday knowledge and teachers' theoretical knowledge (Bartlett 2005).

Dialogue

Part of the impetus for learning how to ask critical questions comes from engaging with difference – whether difference in the form of theoretical knowledge or everyday

Chapter Two

experiences lived by different people. As Burbules and Beck (1999: 61) point out, it is almost by definition difficult to see the limitations and gaps in our own understandings. They suggest that engaging in dialogue with others and recognising the multiple/plural perspectives is a good way to engage with our own assumptions. For Santos (1998) this is crucial because there is only knowledge in difference. The frameworks in table two capture this by talking about learning to listen to others (Andreotti and de Souza 2008a) and interrogate multiple perspectives (Lewison *et al.* 2002) through a relational (Rizvi 2009) and social/collective approach (Johnson and Morris 2010). Engaging learners in alternative perspectives and other ways of seeing the world is important within critical approaches to GCE. It allows learners to “learn and transform our [their] views/identities/relationships – to think otherwise” (Andreotti 2006b: 7). This is an important aspect of developing a language of possibility alongside a language of criticality (Giroux in Burbules and Beck 1999) and allows learners to develop an alternative vision for the future.

Difference is a condition of criticality, when it is encountered in a context that allows for translations or communication across differences; when it is taken seriously, and not distanced as exotic or quaint; and when one does not use the excuse of “incommensurability” as a reason to abandon dialogue (Burbules and Beck 1999: 60).

The most obvious way to engage with difference is through dialogue. For Freire, “dialogue is the encounter between men [sic], mediated by the world in order to name the world” (Freire 1970/1996: 69). The purpose of dialogue is learning and this learning emerges from the opposition between different types of knowledge that people bring to the discussion e.g. teacher knowledge and student knowledge (Bartlett 2005).

This is not about creating binaries between different groups. Drawing again on Spivak, Andreotti (2011) argues that there is no pure ‘marginalised’ identity independent of the dominant discourses and practices that bring about processes of marginalisation. Granting a single voice fails to account for the heterogeneity of experience or knowledge and can give the impression of ‘purity’ or ‘authenticity’ in relation to the account or story of the oppressed. This can lead to a celebratory, romanticised approach in which the voice of the oppressed is valued above other accounts without being subjected to the same rigor (Ziai 2011).

Rather, it is about recognising each individual’s perspective rather than seeing groups as homogenous. It is about understanding the complexities and multiplicities (Banks

2008). What someone says will vary depending on who he or she is talking to, for what purposes and what pressures or responsibilities he or she has. Martin (2012) has proposed a relational model for thinking about difference. In this approach, the focus begins at the level of the individual and it is about understanding 'in-relation-to' others. What becomes important is not the object of understanding – the other – but the relationships that enable the understanding of differences within (Martin 2012: 6).

Dialogue is about 'learning from' and 'with' others in relationship rather than 'learning about' others. Learning 'about' entails a detached distance whereas learning 'from' and 'with' is a process of becoming in relation to others (Britzman 1998 in Taylor 2012: 190). Dialogue is not about understanding the other but about relationship and learning and growing together through that relationship. However, encounters with others always bring an element of uncertainty and risk. Drawing on the work of Emmanuel Levinas, Todd (2003) explains that the Other is infinitely unknowable. Bruce (2013) suggests that there should be no desire to get something pre-defined from the encounter as this reinforces a position of dominance. You cannot know beforehand how you will feel or respond when encountering the Other (Todd 2003), and it is precisely in this element of risk and uncertainty that there is a possibility that one is taught something unexpected by the Other (Biesta 2012 in Bruce 2013).

Self-Reflection

In encountering the Other "'over there'", Kapoor (2004: 641) argues that careful scrutiny is needed of "the 'here'". Perhaps the signature move of a CGCE is the emphasis on self-reflection. In table two, Morris and Johnson (2010) talk about self/subjectivity, Andreotti and de Souza (2008a) talk about learning to unlearn, and Rizvi (2009) talks about reflexivity. These concepts all converge around a focus on examining the self and one's own assumptions, knowledge and implication through the practice of self-reflection. Critical approaches to GCE aim to empower learners to interrogate and examine the historical legacies and contemporary practices including global economic processes and political relations, of which they and/or their cultures and contexts are part (Andreotti 2006b; Applebaum 2012, 2007; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Taylor 2012). They argue that learners should be able to analyse their own position and context and reflect on how they benefit from wider political and economic systems (Andreotti 2006b).

Chapter Two

Reflection is important in making connections between thinking, feeling and acting. It has been described as “the regular exercise of the mental ability, shared by all normal people, to consider themselves in relation to their (social) contexts and vice versa” (Archer 2007: 4). It is not about personal narcissistic reflection but about becoming aware of connections between oneself and others, and the wider socio-political and natural environment. In encouraging reflection, CGCE places a significant emphasis on the idea of ‘complicity’, both at an ontological and epistemological level (i.e. at the level of reality and at the level of knowledge) (Andreotti 2006b; Applebaum 2012, 2007; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Pashby 2012; Rizvi 2009; Taylor 2013; Taylor 2012). The term ‘complicity’ has multiple meanings and is used in various senses, including “folding together”, entwining or complexity, but it is most conventionally understood as “being party to or involved in wrongdoing, as an accomplice” (Veitch 1999: 227). It also been expressed in terms of situatedness:

If global connectivity is to become cosmopolitan then it must have the potential to help students come to terms with their situatedness in the world – situatedness of their knowledge and of their cultural practices, as well as their positionality in relation to the social networks, political institutions and social relations that are no longer confined to particular communities and nations, but potentially connect up with the rest of the world (Rizvi 2009: 264).

The notion of ‘complicity’ within GCE is rooted in postcolonial perspectives which see wealth and poverty not as accidental, but as a result of historical colonial and contemporary neoliberal processes which produce material advantage for some at the expense of others. Complicity operates at the level of practice (e.g. through high consumption), as well as on a discursive level in which discourses around globalisation and development have the effect of “rendering populations economically useful and politically docile in relation to dominant global interests” (Tikly 2004: 174). Tikly (2004) has warned of a lack of recognition of the complicity of ‘the West’ in relation to poverty and environmental problems.

For example, Bryan and Bracken (2011) illustrate the link between the growing demand for electronic products and widespread violence and systematic abuse in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Congolese armed groups earn millions of dollars each year by trading minerals such as tin, tantalum, tungsten and gold which are found in the components and circuit boards of MP3 players, laptops and mobile

phones (80:20 2009). The conflict in the DRC is inevitably complicated and cannot simply be reduced to the sales of conflict minerals. Yet this example illustrates how consumers of electronic items are complicit in the cycle of violence and crimes against humanity. A further example of complicity is described in Monbiot's (2012) column in *The Guardian*. He links the increasing use of biofuels by the European Union to the worsening famine in the Sahel region of West Africa. Making these links explicit and understanding our situatedness, positionality and complicity stands in contrast to approaches which present learners as innocent, distant, and removed from problems of famine, violence and poverty.

Dobson (2006) argues that this recognition of complicity, or what he refers to as 'causal responsibility', offers a much stronger source of obligation/justice than traditional concepts of moral responsibility based on empathy do. It also forces learners to change the way they think about their relation to suffering and their understanding of the 'us' and 'them' and 'fortunate' and 'unfortunate' dichotomies (Jefferess 2012b). Furthermore, it encourages learners to question the inevitability of existing structures and patterns of global connectivity (Rizvi 2009). However, recognition of self-implication is a form of 'difficult knowledge', "knowledge which implicates the learning self" which can challenge learner identities and induce feelings of guilt and anger (Britzman 1998: 117-119 in Taylor 2013: 59).

Young's (2006) *Social Connection Model* (SCM) of responsibility offers a useful way of (re)conceptualising complicity and understanding self-reflection in a way which begins to overcome some of the difficulties regarding the emphasis on individual implication. Her model sits in contrast to what she terms a 'liability' model of responsibility. The liability model is the most common way of assigning responsibility in a legal setting. It works by isolating who is at fault and assigning blame for causing harm, based on a clear, identifiable instance of wrong-doing.

However, issues such as poverty, racism, conflict and climate change are examples of 'structural violence' and cannot be reduced to an individual or even a group act of wrong-doing. On the contrary, structural violence exists as a result of normal, background conditions and is mediated by complex chains of relations and events (Young 2006). The SCM questions these 'normal' conditions and aims to understand the complex processes in which individuals contribute to unjust outcomes. It therefore refuses to mark out and isolate individual perpetrators. Even when agents

Chapter Two

are found to be directly accountable for structural violence, this does not absolve others who contribute indirectly to these processes. Furthermore, rather than looking backwards in order to issue blame, the SCM is predominantly forward looking. It is concerned with understanding the processes which produce injustices and motivating those who participate in those processes to act for change. Finally, the SCM sees responsibility (and complicity) as something which is shared (albeit unevenly) by individuals, corporations and governmental organisations (Young 2006).

Through her model, Young (2006) offers a set of conceptual tools for differentiating responsibility/complicity on the basis of power, privilege, ability and interest, in much the same way that geographer, Massey (1993) coined the term power-geometry to explore how individuals and groups are differently positioned in relation to the flows and processes of globalisation(s). Some people are “more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movements, others don’t; some are more on the receiving end of than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it” (Massey 1993: 62). The utility of Young’s (2006) model has also been noted by Applebaum (2007) who suggests that it has the potential to reduce instances of denial and to open up a space for self-reflection in a more collective sense.

Responsible Action/Being

According to the framework of CGCE developed here, responsible action should emerge out of the previous dimensions of criticality: critical knowledge, dialogue and self-reflection. The nature of this action is not defined but emerges through careful consideration of the problem at stake, dialogue with multiple perspectives and self-reflection. As Andreotti (2006b: 7) explains, action results from “a choice of the individual after a careful analysis of the context of intervention, of different views, of power relations (especially the position of who is intervening) and of short and long-term (positive and negative) implications of goals and strategies”. Acting is not the definitive end goal of CGCE but should be seen in conjunction with thinking and being (Applebaum 2012). This understanding of action is close to Freire’s (1970/1996) concept of praxis, which refers to the balanced union of action and reflection.

The understanding of action in CGCE is also closely aligned with the action in action competence. The concept of ‘action competence’ was developed in Denmark at the Research Centre for Environmental and Health Education at the Royal Danish School

of Education Studies. It was developed in the field of environmental education and is underpinned by the idea of democracy, rooted in critical theory as well as pragmatism. The concept of action competence was developed in response to dissatisfaction with educational theory which tends to regard the task of education as one of behavioural change according to a pre-determined agenda. The concept of action within action competence is distinct from behaviour change in that it is not about telling learners what they should or should not do but about providing them with information and encouraging them to find appropriate solutions. The actions in action competence “are characterised by the fact that they are done consciously and that they have been considered and targeted” (Jensen and Schnack 2006: 474). They are intentional and targeted towards the causes of a problem rather than the symptoms.

This action element is important for two main reasons. Firstly, action is closely linked to experiences (Jensen and Schnack 2006), providing material for learners to reflect upon and learn from. This is empowering for learners. While not all commentators agree that GCE should be empowering (see e.g. Blaney 2002), both critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory emphasise the importance of inspiring other ways of doing and being rather than only deconstruction and critique.

Secondly, responsible action is important in bringing about transformation and challenging oppressive structures. This is not about taking responsibility in the paternalistic sense of being responsible *for* others, but is a more ethical stance *towards* others tied closely to the discussion around complicity and self-reflection in the above section (Andreotti 2006b). Massey (2005) posits a theory of responsibility in which the complex issue of implication is brought to the fore. She eloquently shows how “the lived reality of our daily lives is utterly dispersed, unlocalised, in its sources and in its repercussions” and shows how our responsibilities derive through these relations on the basis of our identity (2005: 184). We are responsible because of the relations we depend upon in our daily lives. For example, the clothes we wear implicate us in complex chains of production and consumption, trade and economy. Through these historical and contemporary chains we become responsible to factory workers in Bangladesh, cotton-growers in the US and the land upon which the cotton is intensively farmed. Similarly, growing demand for mobile phones and laptops in the UK has been directly linked to widespread and systematic violence in Democratic Republic of Congo (80:20 2009). With issues of poverty, conflict and environmental

Chapter Two

degradation being part of our daily existence, it is about being responsible for who we are, which “turns the spotlight on ourselves” (Cloe 2002: 601).

In turning towards our own practices, Banks (2008) distinguishes between active citizenship and transformative citizenship. The former consists of actions which take place within existing laws, customs and conventions which seek to support and maintain, whereas transformative actions are directed towards challenging existing political and social structures. In doing so, they may violate existing norms, conventions and laws, including norms of fashion, consumption and taste (Young 2006).

This is not to overemphasise individual responsibility. On the contrary, from a critical perspective, responsible action is conceived in terms of transforming the structures which perpetuate inequality and effecting change. In this sense, it is about targeting the root of the problem rather than the symptoms (Jensen and Schnack 2006). CGCE is cautious of overestimating the individual as an actor for social change. It is about encouraging learners to see their individual actions in perspective: e.g. does this solution to the problem require that many act in the same way? Are there conditions preventing people from acting in this way? What can be done to make it possible for more people to act (Jensen and Schnack 2006)? Acting responsibly means taking account of our connections and disconnections and weighing up different paths of action depending on the time, energy, resources and capabilities available (Young 2006). Responsibility has multiple meanings and “should not be reduced to a matter of causality or a matter of assisting those less fortunate” (Barnett *et al.* 2011: 4). For Andreotti and de Sousa (2008a), it is about learning to reach out in whatever way is most appropriate depending on the context.

Employing this Criticality²

In developing this theoretical framework, I knew I had found my 'theoretical home'. However, although strongly inspired, it was much more difficult to work out how to use this theoretical perspective in relation to my own research. How much should I impose this critical lens on my research questions? How should I position my own research in relation to critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory?

The initial formulation of my research questions set me up to critique contemporary GCE using the tools and concepts I had developed from post-colonial and post-development theories. It would have been relatively easy to write a critique of GCE in my fieldwork school based on the reproduction of stereotypes about development, liberal conceptions of a common humanity which smooth over differences, the paternalistic nature of ideas about responsibility rooted in ideas about helping others. Yet I wondered how useful this would be. A number of strong critiques of global citizenship resources and initiatives already exist from a critical perspective (Andreotti 2006b; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Jefferess 2013; Jefferess 2012a). I felt that it was unlikely that anything I could ever write would add anything particularly new to these critiques.

Conscious of my ethical responsibilities towards the participants in my fieldwork school, I was also reluctant to write something overly negative about their practices. I did not want to damage the trust and confidence of my participants and was acutely aware of my ethical responsibilities towards them. While there is a strong tradition of critical research (see e.g. Carspecken 1996; Kincheloe and McLaren 2005), this work usually runs harmoniously alongside participant views, often working for their empowerment and emancipation. In relation to privileged groups, Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) talk of 'critical enlightenment' rather than emancipation. However, having never been a teacher myself, it seemed arrogant and presumptuous to come in

² This reflective interlude is based a reflective piece published elsewhere (Blackmore 2013)

Chapter Two

as an outsider and start 'enlightening' the school. Most teachers were already working flat-out to fulfil their responsibilities towards their students. Most were doing an amazing job and had earned the respect and trust of their students. I did not want to be the cause of disillusionment. Furthermore, although proactive in GCE, the school had never claimed to be following a 'critical global citizenship education' model. Using such a framework to 'evaluate' their work seemed unfair and evaluation was not my aim.

Yet I could not drop this theoretical perspective. It captured much of my own thinking about the role of education in relation to social, economic and environmental challenges. I began to explore alternative ways of using the theory more productively, as a language of possibility as well as a language of critique (Giroux 1983 in Burbules and Beck 1999: 60). I reframed my question. What are the challenges and opportunities for a critical global citizenship education? This refocus enabled me to concentrate on examples of contestation and creativity within the school. Although many have pointed out previously (Davies *et al.* 2005; Marshall 2007a) that the critical approach which is based on open debate and discussion is at odds with the realities of a time-limited, assessment-driven curriculum, I was able to use the concepts of knowledge, dialogue, reflection and responsible being and action to look at how and where these were happening in the school, as well as the inevitable challenges which made them difficult. This enabled me to engage with the critical theoretical perspective that had motivated and inspired me. By deepening understandings of how and why GCE operates in one particular school context, I hope to gain an insight into how CGCE can be translated in order to better support teachers in practice. The emphasis is on better understanding the relationship between theory and practice. This framing overcomes my concerns about critiquing the school and hopefully still enables me to make a useful contribution to the literature.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the roots of CGCE in critical theory. I have summarised the traditions of Freirean critical pedagogy and postcolonial theory and highlighted their main contributions to GCE. While sympathetic to these traditions, I have also explained their main weaknesses including allegations of indoctrination, an underdeveloped theory of power in the case of critical pedagogy, and a tendency to romanticise 'Other' perspectives and a concern with the cultural to the neglect of the

economic within postcolonial theory. Cautious of these criticisms, these theoretical perspectives have shaped my own thinking about GCE, as well as my research questions.

In an attempt to define CGCE for the purposes of this thesis, I have drawn on the literature to propose a conceptual framework. This framework includes concepts of knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action and sees CGCE as based on critical examination of knowledge, engagement and dialogue with multiple perspectives, self-reflection and responsible action. In keeping with the critical tradition, this framework is highly normative and can be understood as an 'ideal' version of CGCE. It acts as a way of defining what is meant by CGCE for the purposes of this thesis, as well as a conceptual toolkit for analysis, to which I will return in chapters five and seven. It should not be viewed as a complete project but a proposition for development. Through my own fieldwork and analysis I will argue that while there are elements of CGCE within school, it also poses challenges within the secondary school and overemphasises the agency of teachers and students to challenge dominant economic, political and moral structures. This mirrors existing research which suggests that this ideal version of CGCE is limited within school settings (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Hunt 2012; Marshall 2011; Mundy and Manion 2008). It is to this context that I now turn in order to review some of challenges for CGCE in schools at the level of both policy and practice.

CHAPTER THREE

THE WIDER CONTEXT: GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING IN ENGLAND

Introduction

The previous chapter set out an *ideal* version of critical global citizenship education using the concepts of knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action. However, existing research suggests that this critical approach is limited within school practice (Andreotti 2006b; Bourn and Hunt 2011; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Hunt 2012; Mundy and Manion 2008). Instead, research suggests that examination specifications, textbooks and resources are infused with unexamined discourse, that teachers lack the knowledge, confidence and time to challenge these discourses, and that schools promote simplistic actions which perpetuate stereotypes and do nothing to address underlying inequalities.

Following critique of the normative nature of much GCE work (Balarin 2011; Marshall 2011), this chapter therefore turns to consider the political, economic and social context in which schools are working in relation to GCE. It is divided into two sections. The first provides an overview of the changing policy environment, which is currently characterised by a shift in emphasis towards core, subject-based knowledge, a move away from local authority management through the rise in school's acquiring academy status, and on-going standardised testing and assessment. The second section provides a review of existing research about (critical) GCE in schools. It draws upon the framework set out in chapter two, but is organised around two key debates within GCE: knowledge and action. The review of the literature is not restricted to the English context, partly because of the paucity of research within England on GCE, and partly because studies from elsewhere including Canada, US, Germany, Finland and New Zealand offer useful insights.

This chapter argues that much of the existing research is either descriptive, detailing the forms that GCE takes within schools, or critical, questioning representations of knowledge about global and development issues, and the simplistic, paternalistic actions being advocated by schools. While there is clearly a disconnect between the

Chapter Three

theoretical ideal of CGCE described in chapter two and the realities of school practice, I argue that the focus on agency within CGCE may have been overstated, hindering full consideration of the complex political, economic and social realities in which schools are working. Like Marshall (2011), Mannion *et al.* (2011) and Bryan and Bracken (2011), the chapter concludes by highlighting the need for further in-depth research into the realities of GCE in schools in order to explore the opportunities and challenges for practising a critical approach.

Policy Context of GCE in England

GCE in England is closely tied to the policies of political parties, creating a shifting and uncertain climate in which schools work. For Ball (2000), policy denotes a text but it is also a process of interpretation and implementation involving multiple actors. The English GCE policy landscape is characterised by a number of policy actors including the Department for International Development (DfID), the Department for Education (DfE) and a number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and development education centres (DECs) (Cameron and Fairbrass 2004). This section gives an overview of historical and contemporary policy developments in two sections, coinciding with the change of government: prior to 2010 when New Labour was in power and post-2010 when the coalition government came to power. This shifting policy context is characterised by a series of contradictions: on the one hand, policy rhetoric supports the critical approach outlined in chapter two, but on the other it is driven by economic and charitable instrumental agendas; the shift towards core knowledge comes partly in response to increased instrumentalism, yet risks returning to a 'chalk and talk' pedagogy which is at odds with the participatory pedagogies and discussion of multiple perspectives associated with GCE; finally although schools are gaining autonomy through the rise in academy status, they must conform to on-going testing and assessment.

The History of GCE: Prior to 2010

Global and development issues have featured in many English schools for years, perhaps stemming back to the 1920s when progressive teachers set up the World Education Fellowship (Hicks 2008). For a long time, GCE has been regarded as a marginal activity (McCollum 1996), driven primarily by NGOs such as Oxfam and Action Aid, as well as smaller regional DECs wishing to gain greater public approval

for their international development programmes and overseas aid (Bourn 2008). In 2011 there were 31 DEC's across England, loosely networked into an umbrella body (Think Global 2011b).

DEC's and NGOs continue to play a key role in relation to school GCE; the concept of GCE in particular became popular following the publication of Oxfam's (2006) guide for schools. However, it was not until the New Labour government of 1997-2010 that GCE increased in prominence and came to be formally recognised in national school guidelines. This period saw the introduction of Citizenship in the secondary school curriculum in 2002 (QCA 1998), the publication of a series of official government guidelines associated with GCE (DfES 2005, 2004; QCA 2007), together with guidance and financial support from DfID through the Enabling Effective Support (EES) programme and Development Awareness Fund (DAF), which provided funding to DEC's, enabling them to support teachers and schools through provision of resources, workshops, and teacher training sessions (Think Global 2011b).

CGCE vs. instrumental agendas

GCE itself is not compulsory in English schools, but the government and NGO recommendations outlined above encourage schools and teachers to bring a 'global dimension' into both primary and secondary education across the whole range of subjects and school spaces including whole-school approaches, curriculum subjects, extra-curricular provision and staff training opportunities. Under New Labour, GCE was envisioned as a cross-curricular approach which "permeate[s] the wider life and ethos of schools" (DfES 2005: 1). It was underpinned by eight core concepts: global citizenship, conflict resolution, social justice, values and perceptions, sustainable development, interdependence, human rights and diversity (DfES 2005) and focused on skills and values – 'doing things with knowledge' – rather than knowledge itself (Marshall 2007a).

Criticality was envisioned as a key part of this skills set. The DfES (2005: 2) *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* publication calls for learners to "critically examine their own values and attitudes", while *Putting the World into World-Class Education* requires learners to develop "a critical evaluation of images of other parts of the world" (DfES 2004: 6). The importance of criticality is further elaborated in a guidance document – *Global Learners, Global Schools* (NAHT 2011) – produced by the

Chapter Three

National Association of Head Teachers. It highlights the importance of a critical perspective for GCE:

Critical thinking is crucial in all of this. Taking a more critical perspective can, for example, move us from a benevolent charitable mentality which can play to stereotypes about other countries to considering structural issues that shape global challenges and influence the ways we view them (NAHT 2011: 4).

However, while these policies emphasise criticality, they are not without criticism. In her analysis of *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum*, Andreotti (2008) argues that the document both implicitly and explicitly reproduces assumptions of cultural supremacy, potentially reproducing stereotypes and racism about others, the very issues that the policy seeks to address. For example, poverty is conceptualised as a lack of education, healthcare and clean water. While this may be the case, seeing poverty only in terms of deficit glosses over the connection between the accumulation of wealth and the generation of poverty including colonial history and unfair trade rules (Andreotti 2008: 54).

Andreotti's concerns are in part linked to the instrumental tendencies of GCE policy under New Labour, the then government, which have been highlighted by a number of commentators (Huckle 2008; Mannion *et al.* 2011; Marshall 2011; Smith 2004b; Winter 2007). Perhaps most vocally, Standish (2012) argues that the emphasis on skills and values within GCE has allowed NGOs and corporations to take over the curriculum with their own agendas, leaving the curriculum vulnerable to corruption and political exploitation. Education has become concerned with employability and self-worth rather than intellectual understanding (Standish 2012). Bryan (2011: 4) explains:

Within this instrumentalist framework, the type of 'knowledge worth having' is identified, implicitly or explicitly, as only that which supports employability, competitiveness and 'our' international reputation and educational rankings in a context of market-led globalisation (Bryan 2011: 4).

The focus on the reproduction of a graded and skilled workforce leaves little space for critical and creative thinking. In particular, it is the need for tangible and quantifiable educational outputs that may constrain teachers and schools in engendering reflexivity and a critical engagement with global or development issues (Smith 2004b). This has led some to point to the depoliticising tendencies of New Labour policy, which is

presented as neutral but in fact is closely tied to the interests of neoliberalism (Bryan 2011; Smith 2004a).

Thus while policy under New Labour emphasised critical thinking, in depth critical understanding is in tension with the need to produce a competitive workforce and support NGO campaigns. For further discussion on the use of NGO materials in classrooms, please see page 51.

The Contemporary Context: Post 2010

Since the Coalition government came to power in 2010, the policy context in England for GCE has changed in terms of curriculum, educational management and support from DfID.

Core knowledge vs cross-curricular approach

Perhaps the most significant change has been the introduction of a new National Curriculum, which launched in September 2013 to be implemented by September 2014.

The National Curriculum provides pupils with an introduction to the essential knowledge that they need to be educated citizens. It introduces pupils to the best that has been thought and said; and helps engender an appreciation of human creativity and achievement (DfE 2013: 5).

This new curriculum marks a shift in emphasis towards core subject knowledge and away from the skills and values which were prioritised under New Labour. Partly, this shift has come about in response to the critiques of instrumentalism described above which point to the ease with which the curriculum can be corrupted or exploited by political motives (Lambert and Morgan 2011; Standish 2012). This new emphasis on core knowledge has prompted schools to rethink their relationship with subject-based knowledge, including in relation to GCE (Bourn 2012). It has also led to renewed calls for GCE to be embedded in the curriculum. The National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT 2011: 4), advises that:

Bolt on activities such as themed days do not create genuine change and understanding. The global school is not the one with the most links to schools in other countries but the one whose curriculum most sophisticatedly links the global and the local (NAHT 2011: 4).

However, the new curriculum has sparked considerable controversy amongst head teachers, teachers unions and members of the political left (Young 2011). They warn

Chapter Three

that the knowledge that is prioritised in the new curriculum focuses on British history, literature and culture, with topics relating to the wider world receiving limited attention. For example, topics of sustainability and climate change have been removed from the science, geography and design and technology curricula (Think Global 2013). There is also concern that the emphasis on facts will put pressure on teachers to rely on rote learning and a shift away from the critical engagement with knowledge outlined in chapter two. There is a danger that this conservative treatment of knowledge will further reinforce stereotypes and simplistic ideas about global and development issues. Quoting Major, Lambert (2013) argues that while an inheritance of knowledge may help us to make sense of the world, there is a danger in “accepting it with blind faith”. Instead, he calls urgently for “an attitude of critical engagement” (Major 2010 in Lambert 2013: 94).

This section has illustrated how the new National Curriculum has brought uncertainty. On the one hand it has stimulated debate about the role of knowledge in relation to GCE, but on the other it has elicited caution about the return to traditional knowledge.

School autonomy vs. testing and standardisation

The management structure of schools is also undergoing change. Half of all English secondary schools are now academies or free schools³. Mirroring a wider move to decentralise power under the Big Society (Mohan 2012), this means that individual schools have more ‘autonomy’ regarding the delivery of the National Curriculum and flexibility to make decisions about which activities to prioritise, including decisions pertaining to GCE. However, although academies do have greater autonomy in theory, they continue to be assessed based on their competitive performance in national and international league tables. The continuing influence of statutory assessment and accountability mechanisms should not be underestimated. These tie schools to a narrow focus on student examination results.

³ Calculated using statistics available from the Department for Education (DfE) website in June 2013. (See

<http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/leadership/typesofschools/academies/b00208569/open-academies>) Of 2,076 academies open in June 2013, 1,566 are secondary schools. This amounts to 48% of the total number of state-funded secondaries in England.

Although Ofsted do not directly inspect GCE, inspectors must consider “the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils at the school” (Ofsted 2014: 5). This has been used by NGOs as a way to bolster GCE. For example, Oxfam (2012) argue that the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils offers a significant opportunity for schools to undertake GCE activities. They also demonstrate how GCE can contribute to meeting the other core areas of inspection and evaluation including supporting pupil achievement, teaching, school leadership and pupil behaviour (Oxfam 2012). GCE supports these areas by making learning engaging and relevant to real-life contexts, by fostering participatory teaching methods which encourage critical thinking and enquiry, and by providing a central focus for school development. Similar arguments have been made by Think Global (Think Global 2011a; Think Global and British Council 2011) who argue that GCE can help to motivate students and help them to achieve good examination results. These are examples of how GCE policy and guidance is adapting to national educational guidelines and economic priorities which squeezes out space for a critical approach.

However, DfE is not the only government department with responsibility for GCE. Following an independent review of DfID’s development education activities under the Enabling Effective Support (EES) programme (Gathercole 2011), DfID continue to offer support to schools through the Global Learning Programme (GLP). The review concluded that while it is not possible to ascertain a direct link between awareness-raising activities in the UK and poverty reduction globally, it is likely that it did so (Gathercole 2011). The new five-year GLP for schools in England was awarded to the Development Education Consortium comprising the Geographical Association, the Institute of Education, Oxfam, the Royal Geographical Society, SSAT (The Schools Network), and Think Global, and is co-ordinated and managed by Pearson Education. It supports learning about global and development issues at Key Stages Two (KS2) and Three (KS3) concentrating on core curriculum subjects of English, Geography, History, Maths and Science, alongside Citizenship and Religious Education, as well as whole-school opportunities. With a target of 50% of KS2 and KS3 provider schools in England engaged in GCE-related learning, the programme aims to encourage “critical examination of global issues and an awareness of the impact that individuals can have on them” (GLP 2014). It aims to move students beyond a charity mentality towards one based on social justice.

This section has demonstrated the shifting and uncertain policy context surrounding GCE within England. The policy climate is influenced by a number of actors including DfE, DfID, NGOs and DEC's and is characterised by a series of ambiguities: an emphasis on criticality on the one hand, yet co-optation by instrumental agendas on the other, a shift from a skills and values based approach to a more traditional one based on core knowledge, and on-going testing and accountability mechanisms despite a semblance towards autonomy. This chapter now turns to consider the practice of GCE within schools in order to review what is already known about how schools navigate this complex policy environment.

Critical GCE in Practice

Existing research suggests that most schools in the UK engage in some form of GCE. In a survey of over 200 primary schools, Hunt (2012: 26) found that over 99% engage in a form of global learning. There are no figures for secondary schools, but research demonstrates the popularity of GCE amongst students (Davies *et al.* 2005; Holden 2007c; Ipsos Mori 2008; Yamashita 2006), parents (Think Global 2011c) and teachers (Holden 2007a; Ipsos Mori 2009). However, this research is mostly descriptive – it is based predominantly on survey methods and says nothing about how schools are approaching teaching and learning about global and development issues.

Unsurprisingly, there is considerable variation in the ways schools perceive and articulate GCE. Schools tend to “personalise their interpretation and do not directly follow the national guideline” (Bourn and Hunt 2011: 5). The range of activities and initiatives associated with GCE is documented by Marshall (Marshall 2007a, b), Bourn and Hunt (2011) and Hunt (2012). It includes both the formal curriculum (timetabled lessons) and informal curriculum (including assemblies, whole-school approaches, collapsed-timetable days and extra-curricular). For example:

- Formal curriculum subjects (including, but not only, Geography and Citizenship)
- Alternative curricula and curricular interventions (e.g. International Baccalaureate (IB), Philosophy for Children (P4C), Open Spaces for Dialogue and Enquiry (OSDE))
- Special assemblies, global days and themed weeks
- School award schemes (e.g. International School Award (ISA), Rights Respecting School Award (RRSA), Fair-trade Schools Award and Eco Schools Award)

- Links and partnerships with schools abroad
- International visits and hosting international visitors
- Working with Development Education Centres (DECs) and NGOs to provide speakers, training and resources
- Staff development and exchange opportunities
- Student voice initiatives e.g. school councils
- Fundraising activities and campaigns
- Out of school clubs

Bourn and Hunt (2011) found that the combination of activities and initiatives vary from school to school. They did not find any correlation between the type of activity and the type of school. In a review of what works in schools, Hogg (2010) found that effective practice is different for each school but usually requires more than one type of activity. However, much of the research to date focuses on whole-school approaches and informal curriculum rather than the formal curriculum (Bourn 2012).

GCE activities are most commonly viewed in terms of cultural awareness, cultural diversity and promoting tolerance and respect for difference (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Edge *et al.* 2009; Hunt 2012). This is in keeping with dominant policy discourses which emphasise cultural perspectives (see e.g. Mannion *et al.* 2011). The majority of respondents to Hunt's (2012) study of global learning in primary schools saw GCE as developing interest in other cultures and countries (60.4%) and developing respect, responsibility and values amongst pupils (77%). Similarly, in secondary schools, most teachers see GCE in terms of broadening pupils' horizons, as well as cultural understanding and awareness (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Bryan and Bracken 2011). Davies *et al.* (2005) report a wider variation of perceptions, but again a number of teachers emphasise raising awareness of difference and similarity and broadening pupils' horizons beyond family views.

While cultural interpretations of GCE dominate, many have noted that only a minority of teachers explicitly articulate critical understandings of GCE (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Hunt 2012). Hunt (2012) notes that few teachers saw GCE as working towards social justice or improving understandings of economic, political and social contexts, instead they tend to "promote a 'soft', non-threatening global learning" (Hunt 2012: 10). Similarly, Bourn and Hunt (Bourn and Hunt 2011: 23-24) report a widespread acceptance of information and materials provided by the government and NGOs with little critique or questioning of these materials. The critical approach assumes the agency of teachers and students to resist traditional ideas about

Chapter Three

knowledge whether there is a fixed 'right' and 'wrong' answer. It also assumes that they will be able to navigate structures of moral authority and emotional responses.

The remainder of this chapter therefore looks more closely at CGCE with these assumptions in mind in order to explore what is known and why the critical approach is limited. There is relatively little research on the realities of GCE in schools (Bryan and Bracken 2011; Mannion *et al.* 2011; Marshall 2011), especially in the English context so this review draws on research from around the world. The discussion is organised around two main debates within the literature: knowledge and action, and the common assumption that given the correct knowledge, students will be able to act for a better world. The other concepts in the framework set out in chapter two—self-reflection and dialogue with multiple perspectives—have received much less research attention within the context of school GCE and I will expand on these areas in my own analysis in chapter seven. However, see Taylor (2013) and Applebaum (2012) for research into the emotional responses to self-reflection among trainee teachers. The debates in the literature centring upon knowledge and action illustrate that there is a disconnect between the *ideal* CGCE set out in chapter two and the realities in which schools are working.

Knowledge

Curriculum

The first area of debate concerns the extent to which global and development issues are present in the curriculum. The question of what schools should teach is often set out in nationwide documents such as the National Curriculum in England. The emphasis is often on national history, geography, literature, and values (Pike 2008), which arguably limits the space for global issues and alternative perspectives to come into the curriculum. This is particularly so in the current English policy context given the return to core knowledge outlined above and the removal of topics such as sustainability and climate change from the science, geography and design and technology curricula (Think Global 2013).

In response to shifts in policy, a body of research has sought to identify the relevance of global and development themes across a range of curriculum subjects (Bourn 2012; Lambert and Morgan 2011). These include conventional areas of Geography (Lambert and Morgan 2011) and Citizenship, as well as subjects not traditionally aligned with

GCE, including Maths, Modern Foreign Languages, Science and Religious Education (Bourn 2012). Bourn (2012) shows that global and development themes provide valuable topics from which to develop subject-based knowledge, a basis from which to bring real world relevance to a range of subjects, and an emphasis on critical thinking skills. However, this does not overcome the perception of GCE as being outside the core elements of the subject (Bourn 2012), or the low 'Cinderella' status of subjects such as citizenship (Bryan 2011).

Even where global and development themes are present in the curriculum, research suggests that they are often dealt with in an uncritical fashion (Bryan and Bracken 2011; Gyoh 2008; Lambert and Morgan 2011; McQuaid 2009; Mikander 2012).

Despite claims of globality and inclusion, the lack of analyses of power relations and knowledge construction in this area often results in educational practices that unintentionally reproduce ethnocentric, ahistorical, depoliticised, paternalistic, Salvationist and triumphalist approaches that tend to deficit theorize, pathologies or trivialize difference (Andreotti and de Souza 2012: 1).

The lack of analysis of power relations and knowledge construction that Andreotti and de Souza (2012) point to is in part due to the way that global and development issues are portrayed in examination specifications, textbooks and resources. For example, in their analysis of examination specifications and textbook articulations of 'development', Lambert and Morgan (2011) found that much school geography is ideological, consisting of unexamined discourse. Examination specifications tend to simply define terms such as 'development' and then proceed to map the patterns of 'development' rather than delving into more complex questions of what development is or how it has been constructed. Failure to critically examine the notion of 'development' results in the quantification of levels of development and an emphasis on simple solutions rather than a nuanced understanding of the problem. Solutions such as aid and fair trade are often promoted uncritically. Lambert and Morgan (2011: 5) write:

Students are denied access to a range of theoretical viewpoints and perspectives, and are left with an ahistorical and simplistic understanding of the development process, and encouraged to accept positive ideas about 'Aid' and 'Fair Trade' without first examining them in a rigorous and critical fashion.

Chapter Three

They warn that students are left with a superficial understanding of development and how it plays out differently in different contexts and little opportunity to engage with different perspectives about what development means. Students are likely to get the impression that the large gap between the most and least developed countries is natural, fixed and immovable, and to focus on unexamined 'solutions' rather than understanding the complex causes of problems (Lambert and Morgan 2011).

Others have drawn similar conclusions about the uncritical treatment of global issues within the curriculum. McQuaid (2009) argues that the legacy of colonial Othering remains entrenched in the education system where the school curriculum perpetuates the construction of selves as separate from and superior to others. For example, in the Geography curriculum, the binary language of Less Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs) and More Economically Developed Countries (MEDCs) perpetuates an imperial mind-set and an attitude of dividing the world creating an 'us' and 'them'. Similarly, in their review of Irish textbooks, Bryan and Bracken (2011) found a tendency to rely on modernisation theory in which development is presented simply as a universal, linear process where 'developing countries' are playing 'catch up' with developed countries. Gyoh (2008) comes to similar conclusions about the use of images within Irish teaching resources. He argues that most photographs of Africa are of famine or disease which reinforces stereotypical perceptions of destitution and despair when analysed from the point of view of Western modernity.

The effects of Othering are not only limited to the Geography curriculum. In her critical discourse analysis of two events as they are articulated in Finnish history textbooks—the Greek-Persian battle of Thermopylae and 9/11 and the subsequent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan—Mikander (2012) shows that a view of the world is painted in which Westerners are superior to others. In particular, Western lives are portrayed as more grievable (or valuable) than others, Western values of democracy and freedom are seen as superior and belonging solely to the West, while Western violence is hidden, and Muslims are portrayed as an essential threat to democracy. This creates an 'us' and 'them' dichotomy with no critical reading offered by the textbooks.

Besides textbooks, NGO materials are commonly used in classrooms as a way of bringing in global and development issues and are often invested with significant authority. This is partly because of the lack of available resource material outside of that provided by NGOs (Tallon 2012b). However, NGOs face a tension between

awareness-raising and fundraising to support their projects and education (Cameron and Haanstra 2008; Smith 2004a, b). In her work on secondary students' responses to NGO materials in New Zealand, Tallon (2012a) found that although young people show a high level of media scepticism, NGO materials often frame the global South in a deficit mode, as catching up with us, and therefore in need. This leads to a sense of pity and the moral imperative to take action overwhelms the importance of good critical understanding.

While NGOs have responded to criticisms cautioning the use of pity-inducing images by using positive ones, this too is not without problem (Cameron and Haanstra 2008; Jefferess 2012a). The use of images of happy children risks replacing one stereotype with another. The image of the poor, destitute person is replaced by an image of the happy peasant; if this is the only representation of the global South that students have, it risks becoming a stereotype. It also has political implications, potentially diverting attention away from the state and other powerful actors with responsibility to intervene (i.e. if 'they' are happy, there is no need for change) (Boyden and Cooper 2007). Furthermore, it does nothing to question the underlying factors which sustain global injustices (Cameron and Haanstra 2008) and continues to play into the moral agency of the audience, making them feel good about what they can do (Tallon 2012a). Tallon (2012a: 19) therefore raises caution about the use of NGO material within classrooms, especially when it is the sole teaching aid used within a school, suggesting that, "at worst it could be narrow, over-simplified and pedagogically unsound", leading to a closing down of other ways of thinking about development, increased ethnocentrism and a stereotypical understanding of the global South.

Thus, this section has shown how the National Curriculum, examination specifications, textbooks and NGO resources may present unexamined discourses of global and development issues, which, perhaps inadvertently, reproduce stereotypes and perpetuate cultural supremacy where 'we' are seen as superior to 'them'. Given the simplistic and romanticised portrayals in teaching materials, it is left to teachers and students to use their agency to encourage a critical reading. The following section will explore the agency that these actors have.

Teacher knowledge

Although some teachers recognise the tendency of textbooks to flatten out and oversimplify global and development issues, presenting apparently 'neutral'

Chapter Three

understandings of global injustices, the little existing research suggests that they experience difficulties in conveying complexity in their classrooms (Bryan and Bracken 2011; Schmidt 2010; Smith 2004a). Smith (2004a: 744), writes that whilst staff in his two fieldwork schools often acknowledge the multiple meanings of 'development' in the staffroom, this was not always realised in the Geography classroom where they tended to rely on the classic modernisation narrative of development. Similar findings are reported by Schmidt (2010). In her qualitative study with four prospective Geography teachers in Michigan, U.S., she found that even when the teachers wanted to challenge stereotyped understandings of the Other, this often did not translate into their classroom practice.

There is evidence to suggest that teachers face a range of challenges including fears about addressing multiculturalism, racism and discrimination in the classroom, concerns to protect students, and pressures of preparing them adequately for examinations. In their study in the Irish context, Bryan and Bracken (2011: 222) found that while many teachers wanted to help pupils understand the "magnitude and intractability of global problems", they were worried about depressing students or making them feel powerless. This concern about upsetting students seems to be widespread. Yamashita (2006) talks of teachers' 'haunted stories' – stories with vague details where children or parents have become upset following classroom discussions. Similarly, Holden (2007b: 56) talks of teachers' concerns to protect children by providing "a 'safe haven' from the outside world and its problems". There is also some anecdotal evidence to suggest that teachers are worried about turning students into cynics with too much emphasis on critical literacy and critical analysis of knowledge (Reid 2012).

Teachers in Holden's (2007b) and Bryan and Bracken's (2011) studies were also torn between engaging students critically and ensuring their students produce 'safe' and acceptable answers in the context of a competitive national examination system. Lambert and Morgan (2011: 10) write that it is well documented that in high stakes assessment systems such as England, "teachers behave cautiously, looking for low risk course specifications, predictable examinations – and preferably a textbook written by the examiner". The rigid structure of the National Curriculum and continual pressure of examinations and assessments affords little time for an integrated cross-curricular approach or exploration of global issues and current affairs (Davies *et al.* 2005). Yamashita (2006) shows how unclear government legislation and advice can add to

teachers' worries. Teachers often hold beliefs about 'neutrality' stemming from the 1996 Education Act. This fear of being accused of indoctrination prevented them from sharing their own opinions with students, even if this was a way of stimulating debate.

However, in a study of schools in Ontario, Canada which are operating in a similarly increasingly prescriptive curriculum, Schweisfurth (2006) found that teachers who were determined to make GCE a priority were able to do so and the curriculum provided opportunities for this. It is important to note that her research focused upon teachers who were highly motivated and well supported. Other research suggests that many teachers and trainee teachers feel ill-equipped to address the complexity of development and global themes because of lack of knowledge, confidence and skills (Davies *et al.* 2005; Holden 2002; Ipsos Mori 2009; Yamashita 2006). Confidence levels do vary according to teaching experience, development experience and background knowledge (Bryan and Bracken 2011). There is also considerable evidence to suggest that teachers' engagements in global themes depends on personal motivation, wider world experience and broader social outlook (Bourn 2012: 6). Teachers also feel there is a lack of adequate resources enabling them to grapple with this complexity in their classrooms (Bryan and Bracken 2011).

Student knowledge

While teachers may be concerned that students are not intellectually ready to deal with change, challenge and uncertainty (Bryan and Bracken 2011), Tallon's (2012a) research suggests that students are able to voice their own criticisms of NGO material but need a safe, supportive space to be able to do so, especially when their concerns run counter to the dominant moral imperative. Asbrand's (2008) work also suggests that young people are aware of insecurities and uncertainties with knowledge. However, they may find it difficult to endure uncertainty and multiplicity of knowledge and prefer to be given unambiguous information. This is partly because the 'testing and correct answer' tradition of schooling stands in direct opposition to examining conflicting perspectives – "a process that does not produce neat and tidy conclusions" (Lewison *et al.* 2002: 383).

This is demonstrated by Wettstaedt and Asbrand (2012) in their study of GCE in the German context, which found that students seek to process uncomplicated information and do not reflect on its validity or its limitation. They use strategies such as focusing and relying on single sources, referring to second-hand experiences to validate information, and stereotyping in order to deal with complexity and uncertainty. This

Chapter Three

suggests that students may need some support to engage in discussions around the complexity of global issues.

This section has outlined critiques of the approach to knowledge concerning GCE in schools. Research illustrates the unexamined discourses present in the National Curriculum, examination syllabi, textbooks and NGO resources, and also highlights the difficulties teachers and students face in challenging these perspectives and stimulating debate, even when they want to do so. The following section provides a similar overview of debates around action in relation to GCE.

Action

Closely linked to government guidelines on active citizenship and NGO initiatives promoting fundraising and volunteering, there is an emphasis on taking action within schools. In their review of educational material in Europe, Rajacic *et al.* (2010 in Tallon 2012a: 6) note that much practice supports the agendas of NGOs or national governments with an emphasis on action. The dominant idea is to enable individuals to see themselves as change agents who will work with others to ameliorate injustice in society (Tallon 2012a). This is evident in teachers' perceptions of GCE. Many see their role as global or development educators in terms of encouraging students to help others and empowering them to become active, engaged and able to 'make a difference' (Bryan and Bracken 2011; Davies *et al.* 2005). The emphasis on action is often associated with dominant ideas about young people as energetic, enthusiastic and having a "natural sense of justice" (Pykett *et al.* 2010: 500) and needing to capitalise on this before they become disillusioned and caught up with other demands on their time. In this sense, young people's subjectivity is being constructed through discourses on taking action (Ballie Smith 2013; Lambert and Morgan 2011).

While action can take many forms, research shows that schools tend to prioritise individualised forms of action, especially fundraising and making ethical consumer choices (Bryan and Bracken 2011; Hunt 2012; Mundy and Manion 2008; Smith 2004b). The emphasis on individual forms of action is illustrated in Pykett *et al.*'s (2010) account of fair trade activism in two different schools in Bristol. Bryan and Bracken (2011: 15) refer to this as the development-as-charity framework, which is characterised by "fundraising, fasting, having fun".

Although fundraising plays an important role in meeting immediate needs around the world, as well as fostering a sense of empowerment amongst fundraisers, individualised actions have been subject to critique. Firstly, they reinforce stereotypes that ‘they’ are ‘dependent’ upon us and perpetuate ideas about development being about charity from the North to the South (Smith 2004b). Biccum (2007) suggests that the New Labour government and NGO development awareness programmes centre on producing “little developers” rather than “critically-minded and self-reflexive activists”. She argues that young UK citizens are encouraged to think of themselves as having authority and legitimacy as actors who can help “develop” the world. This duty to help is based on “benevolent obligation”, the idea that ‘we’, the fortunate, should help those less fortunate because we are able to, and because it is morally a right or good thing to do in the face of suffering of our fellow human beings (Jefferess 2012b: 20). This is based on paternalistic assumptions which focus on the symptoms and solutions rather than the complex causes of injustice. It perpetuates a notion of responsibility *for* rather than responsibility *towards* like the one outlined in chapter two.

In doing so, the focus is on the student helper. As Jefferess (2012a) argues, initiatives premised on the chance to “make a difference” often do more to satisfy the happiness and fulfilment of the consumer (usually referred to as donor or volunteer), rather than bring about any changes to the complex systems and processes which reproduce injustices. This protects learners from having to re-think dominant understandings by comforting them with assurances that they are helping to make a difference (Bryan and Bracken 2011: 207). Similar comments have been made by Tallon (2012a) who argues that a fundraising action brings a morally uplifting closure to the topic for students.

However, in reality there are no quick fix solutions and no simple answers. Adopting the role of ‘saviour’ or ‘change-maker’ does not easily allow an examination of one’s own role and implication in injustice, let alone question which voices are asking for change. As Gronemeyer (1992: 55) argues, helping becomes no more than a “sophisticated exercise of power”, which works to control subordinates/oppressed by defining the problem of poverty and specifying what is needed to overcome it from the outside, rather than working with local peoples.

Furthermore, the emphasis on charity as a solution to poverty constructs action as something special with a specific start and endpoint rather than something which requires on-going daily commitment. It means that, “...“action” has been constructed

Chapter Three

as something outside of our normal daily experience, as if we were not acting until we help build a school in Latin America or organize a fundraiser” (Jefferess 2012a: 25). This forecloses the possibility of discussing other types of action including changing our relationships, assumptions and patterns of consumption in our day-to-day lives. For example, Bryan and Bracken (2011) note that collective forms of action such as demonstrations, sit-ins and civil disobedience are relatively uncommon in school. Instead, students are “channelled into apolitical, uncritical actions such as signing in-school petitions, designing posters or buying Fairtrade products” (Bryan and Bracken 2011: 16). Bryan and Bracken (2011) refer to this as ‘obedient activism’. These actions are not intentional like the action competence approach discussed in chapter two.

There is some evidence to suggest that young people actually disengage with global and development issues through charity events at school. For example, DfID found that young people are particularly put off being interested in global and development issues by enforced participation in development orientated charity events at school (DfID 2001: 3 in Smith 2004b: 78). Similarly, following observation in secondary schools in New Zealand, Tallon (2012a) suggests that students who are morally forced to carry out ‘sanctioned’ charitable actions which they do not personally agree with, might start to see the suffering of others as a pain or a nuisance or something that can easily be solved and forgotten about through a fundraising campaign.

Finally, the action-orientated approach dominant in schools tends to assume homogeneity of the student – it assumes that all students are in a position to act and that they are culturally distant from the Other who they are helping (Pykett *et al.* 2010; Tallon 2012a). In their study of two school fair-trade groups at different secondary schools in Bristol, Pykett *et al.* (2010) argue that, although the two groups are based upon similar views about fair-trade education, they reflect very different appreciations of what can be done by young people in a particular area, in part because of their differing family backgrounds and socioeconomic circumstances and access to both material resources and cultural capital. Income, residential location, and involvement in particular social networks and their associated influences all influenced the type and extent of involvement. Similarly, some students are not interested or are too busy to take on extra involvement (Tallon 2012a). This highlights the importance of the context in which learning takes place in terms of classroom practice, school ethos and community circumstances which shape the personal and professional concerns of

teachers and the concerns and motivations which young people bring to their engagements in these sorts of initiatives.

These growing criticisms about the dominance of charitable approaches to action are increasingly recognised by teachers, students and researchers. In particular, the new Global Learning Programme (GLP) aims to move beyond a charity mentality towards a social justice one. Yet research shows that challenging the pervasiveness of simplistic responses in schools is difficult and teachers and students may not have the agency to challenge dominant political, social and moral structures. Smith (2004b) argues that schools continue to do fundraising because it complements wider societal ideas about how to engage with global inequality. This is partly due to the agendas of NGOs but even when an NGO does not seek to fundraise as part of its work with a school, the school may still fundraise off the back of a visit (Smith 2004b). This is because fundraising offers “familiarity and manageability” to teachers (Smith 2004b: 77-78). For example, in their study of Irish post-primary schools, Bryan and Bracken (2011) found that fundraising was manageable for ‘time-poor’ teachers and also produced immediate results. Similarly, using the example of a Y10 social studies class in New Zealand, Tallon (2012a: 15) also describes how teachers find NGO fundraising materials “easy to use”, while participants in Martin and Wyness’ (2013) research on teacher study visits talk about a lack of viable alternatives to fundraising, especially if you want students to see a tangible change.

Furthermore, emotional responses sometimes limit the potential for critical engagement (Jefferess 2013; Tallon 2012a; Taylor 2013). The teacher in Tallon’s (2012a) study felt that questioning the ‘good’ and ‘moral’ imperative of social action was counter-productive and difficult. This meant that although many students had oppositional thoughts and emotions towards charity, there was no space within the classroom to voice them. This corresponds with Bryan and Bracken’s (2011) findings, which show how teachers feel the need to empower students and offer them ‘solutions’ to the complex and depressing challenges they are encountering in the classroom. Furthermore, teachers are reluctant to encourage political mobilisation of students (Bryan and Bracken 2011). In Tallon’s (2012a) study of the meanings that students make from NGO materials concerning development and the global South in social studies classrooms in New Zealand, the teacher found it difficult to foster activism in the classroom. She found it difficult to leave the decision about what action to take completely open to the students.

Chapter Three

This links to the difficulty that students face in experiencing a sense of uncertainty or discomfort about what to do. Asbrand (2008) points to the importance of secure knowledge in being active. Traditionally, the idea of 'responsible action' implies that 'correct' and 'right' solutions can be found. Not knowing what to do and how to act for the best can lead to paralysis and internal conflict, especially amongst teachers and students who are used to engaging in relatively easy actions such as fundraising days or volunteer trips. Jefferess (2012b) suggests that additional engagement with diverse voices which seek to resist dominant ideologies, for example, social movements, would be fruitful.

This section has highlighted the challenges concerning action within a school setting and the disconnect between the responsible action outlined in chapter two where action is intentional based on critical understanding, self-reflection and engagement with multiple dialogues, and the simplistic approach to action based on a charity and ethical consumption framework as practiced in schools.

Conclusion

This chapter has set out the context in which schools are practising GCE, particularly in relation to the shifting English policy climate. Current policy is characterised by a series of contradictions. On the one hand there is a return to core knowledge, while on the other GCE is associated with a holistic, cross-curricular approach. Critical thinking and critical skills are valued but GCE is also co-opted by a variety of different agendas including economic and NGO initiatives. With the move towards academy status, individual schools are given more autonomy in their articulation and practice of GCE, yet they are increasingly regulated and constrained by standardised measures and assessments.

Working in this climate, I have argued that there is a 'reality gap' between the ideal CGCE conceptualised in chapter two and the reality within which schools are working. Rather than conceiving of this as a 'reality gap' which assumes that theoretical ideas can be simply transmitted into practice, this research sees theory and practice along a continuum (Chaiklin 2013). I suggest that the assumptions made within CGCE about the agency of teachers to challenge dominant structures of knowledge and encourage engagement with multiple perspectives and critical self-reflection amongst students may have been overstated. As Balarin (2011) suggests, a focus on agency hinders full

consideration of the economic, social and political structures in which schools are situated. This chapter has sketched out some of the many factors which constrain CGCE including the complex and shifting policy context, the National Curriculum, simplistic representations in textbooks, standardised testing and assessments, lack of time, teacher concerns about upsetting students, structures of moral authority within society and students' emotional responses.

There is currently little in-depth research exploring the realities of GCE in schools (Bryan and Bracken 2011; Mannion *et al.* 2011; Marshall 2011), particularly within the English context. Some have argued that there is a tendency to criticise without analysing the political, economic and social realities in which schools are working. Much of the literature I have drawn upon in this chapter attests to this – research tends to focus on critiquing textbook and resources representations or on questionnaires with teachers, often those teachers with specific responsibility for GCE. Marshall (2011: 412) therefore argues that the recent body of academic work on CGCE:

...must be accompanied by more practical and empirically informed understandings of current school contexts and the hegemonic notions of corporate cosmopolitan capital at play – in other words, no matter how global citizenship education is theorised, there are key theoretical, conceptual and practical questions that need to be asked that expose the normative and instrumentalist agendas at play.

This research aims to extend this body of research through an ethnographic approach which explores the meanings and practices of GCE as it plays out in one school. The aim is to identify potential challenges and opportunities for developing a CGCE, drawing on perspectives of teachers, students and parents in one school. Ultimately, my aim is to explore how schools can be better supported to adopt a critical approach. The following chapter describes my methodology – an in-depth, ethnographic approach which responds to calls for a deeper understanding of how GCE is understood and practised in one particular secondary school.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS AND METHODOLOGY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

Introduction

Having made the theoretical case for a CGCE in chapter two and explored the realities of what is known about current policy and practice of (critical) global citizenship education in schools in England in chapter three, I now turn to consider the methodology which was employed in order to explore the research questions. This research has two main interests as outlined in the introductory chapter; the first relates to the description and explanation of the meanings and understandings associated with GCE as it is practised in one secondary school, while the second is concerned with the lessons that can be drawn from one particular context of global citizenship education about the challenges and opportunities for CGCE in schools. Over the course of the research, a number of sub-questions were identified as listed below.

1. How is global citizenship education practised in one secondary school?
 - a. What form does global citizenship education take at the school?
 - b. What does global citizenship education mean to members of the school community (teachers, students, parents)?
2. What are the challenges and opportunities for a critical global citizenship education in schools?

These questions were explored through an ethnographic study of global citizenship education at Castle School carried out between April 2011 and July 2012. In total I visited the school 81 times, or approximately twice a week over more than one academic year. This chapter is divided into four parts. The first section explains the rationale behind the ethnographic methodology, including reflections upon ontological and epistemological assumptions and my commitment to reflexivity. The second section elaborates on the particular methods and tools which were used to produce the data for this thesis including participant observation, staff and parent interviews,

student discussion groups, and document collection techniques. The process of analysis, interpretation and writing is described in section three, which draws upon both emic and etic understandings of global citizenship education. Finally, section four considers the relationships with society, the wider research community, and research participants that came about through this research and the focus on validity and ethical responsibilities these relationships entail.

Why Ethnography?

The question of what counts as ethnography is complex and is the subject of much debate (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Wolcott 2008). This research takes an ethnographic perspective, situating it somewhere along a continuum between ‘full ethnography’ and ‘using ethnographic methods’ (Green and Bloome 1997). It is ethnographic in the sense that it is concerned with understanding participants’ multiple perspectives and meaning-making within their everyday context, and doing so over an extended period of time using an open-ended and exploratory approach. It is therefore nearer to the ‘full ethnography’ end of the spectrum⁴. Rather than becoming entangled in discussions concerning the defining characteristics of ethnography, my intention here is to outline why an ethnographic approach was adopted in this research and to highlight the methodological assumptions which underpin it.

This research is concerned with understanding how GCE happens in a secondary school and the meanings that participants make from initiatives and practices. The aim is to use this understanding to explore how CGCE might be made more usable in the school context. Much of the existing literature is either normative (Balarin 2011) or critical (Andreotti 2006b). There is relatively little in the English context which aims to understand what GCE means to those who are involved in teaching and learning it – teachers, pupils and their parents. Those studies of school-based GCE in England

⁴ I have refrained from calling this a ‘full ethnography’ because of the limited element of cultural comparison I am able to offer as someone who was schooled and worked in a very similar cultural environment to the one where I did my research (see Wolcott 2008). Furthermore, although my approach was open-ended, the focus on GCE was pre-determined rather than emerging from the context and the concerns of participants. However, I see this as largely as a matter of degree and ethnography offers a useful reference point for capturing the essence of my approach.

which do exist are often based on one-off interviews or questionnaires (e.g. Bourn and Hunt 2011) or short-term qualitative studies and case studies (Davies *et al.* 2005; Marshall 2007b). These provide valuable data about the way that GCE is perceived and the activities that schools are engaged in. However, they often prioritise the views of one or two teachers within the school, typically the global co-ordinator or a member of staff with responsibility for GCE, which might paint a very different picture to the way that GCE is perceived by others in the same school community.

Questionnaire and interview-based studies may also de-contextualise GCE. There is therefore a possibility that in quantitative and short term, one-off qualitative studies, participants might draw upon wider rhetoric or ideas they have about what GCE *should* be, thus constructing accounts that they think the researcher would like to hear rather than reflecting openly and honestly on their own experiences and understandings. This is particularly likely in relation to GCE which is characterised by strongly normative statements about how GCE should be taught and learned (Balarin 2011). There is therefore a need for studies which contextualise GCE through observational data.

Ethnography is firmly committed to understanding how participants understand their world (Delamont 2002; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). It focuses on “their perceptions of the world they live in and of themselves within that world” (Nabi *et al.* 2009: 8). Crucially, this is done in context and involves “the researcher participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, and/or asking questions through informal or formal interviews, collecting documents or artefacts” (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3). By being there and seeing what happens over time, on different days at different times of year, ethnographers are able to build rapport with participants, thus being able to explore in more depth what they think about GCE, how they understand what they are doing, the initiatives they take, and the uncertainties they face. This also allows identification of possible inconsistencies within their accounts. As Khan and Jerolmack (2013) point out, being able to explore discrepancies between participants’ accounts and their actions and practices is one of the greatest strengths of ethnography. For a phenomenon such as GCE, which can be perceived to be abstract, this situated approach is therefore particularly important as it allows the researcher to learn the language of participants and to ask about GCE in a way which makes sense to them.

Chapter Four

Furthermore, an ethnographic approach enables engagement with multiple realities and perspectives even within one school. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 9) point out, “there are many different layers or circles of cultural knowledge within any society”. A school can be seen as an organisation, which “constitute[s] multiple realities: they are many things at the same time” (Morgan 1986 in Hilhorst 2003: 5). The existing literature has already firmly established that GCE has multiple, sometimes contradictory meanings (Marshall 2011; Roman 2003; Schultz 2007). What an ethnographic approach can add and what this research aims to do is to provide a deeper understanding of how these multiple meanings play out in the context of one school, incorporating the views of teachers, students and parents, including those who may not be familiar with the language of GCE, such as teaching assistants and support staff. Such an approach enables insights into how different conceptions coincide, interact, conflict or divide⁵. Given the marginal status of GCE (McCollum 1996), an ethnographic approach also allows the researcher to explore how GCE sits alongside other priorities of the school rather than focusing on GCE in isolation.

The openness of an ethnographic approach is another advantage given the status of GCE as a contested cross-curricular approach. GCE is not associated with one particular subject area or initiative or even a clearly defined topic area. Although it has traditionally been associated with Geography or Citizenship, there is increasing emphasis on embedding GCE across the curriculum, incorporating a range of topics including diversity, conflict, human rights, poverty/inequality and environment (DfES 2005). There is also growing recognition of the informal and everyday nature of learning about global citizenship, going beyond formal schooling to recognise the influence of the media, family and friends, and NGO campaigns (Biesta *et al.* 2009; Cross *et al.* 2010). Nespore (1997: xiii) conceptualises the school as “an intersection in social space, a knot in a web of practices that stretch into complex systems beginning and ending outside the school”. The openness and flexibility of ethnography enabled me to take a similar view of the school and be directed by participants’ themselves as to where to go to study GCE. This fostered insights into the interaction between formal schooling and the media, families and charitable initiatives, which proved important in

⁵ In exploring multiple perspectives, I take a relaxed view of discourse as outlined in the introduction and my aim is not to carry out a complex analysis of power between these different perspectives.

the analysis of my data. Thus, rather than being confined to the formal structures of existing ideologies and biases as in a formal case study, an ethnographic approach enabled an exploration of GCE which cut across formal structures rather than being restricted by existing curricular ideologies and biases (see also Smith 1999).

In taking this approach a number of fundamental assumptions are made about the world (ontology) and ways of knowing about that world (epistemology). Traditionally, ethnography was premised upon realist methodological assumptions, the belief in the existence of a (social) world independent of the researcher whose nature could be objectively known (positivism) (Hammersley 1992). The idea of naturalism dominated, positing that ethnography allows the researcher to get 'closer' to this independent reality and to document it as it is. Following postmodernist, post-structuralist and feminist turns, these assumptions have been called into question as the influence of the researcher on the research process has been recognised. As Davies (1999: 3) states, "all researchers are to some degree connected to, a part of, the object of their research". This is not to say, however, that therefore there is no reality independent of human knowledge of that reality.

In this research I see ontology and epistemology as separate. I believe in a realist ontology and a constructivist epistemology, similar to Hammersley's (1992) subtle realism or Bhaskar's critical realism (see Davies 1999). Critical realism maintains that there exists a reality independent of human knowledge (realist ontology), but recognises that its representations are mediated and coloured by language, cultural, social and political factors and therefore that our ability to know about this reality is always limited and subjective, constrained by our senses and personal perspectives (constructionist epistemology) (Danermark 2002). Reality is also multiple, holistic, and ever-changing (Merriam 2002). This perspective offers a plausible alternative to the often unhelpfully caricatured dichotomy between 'positivism' and 'constructivism'. The account offered in this thesis should not be regarded as an attempt to *reproduce* reality, rather I offer one *representation* of the realities of GCE at one school, constrained by the time and resources available to me, and limited by my own assumptions, experiences and expectations.

Given my own influence on this research, reflexivity is central (Archer 2007; Davies 1999; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Reflexivity concerns looking both inwards towards the researcher's identity, assumptions and ways of looking at the world, as

Chapter Four

well as outwards towards the effect that this has on the research (Dunne *et al.* 2005). It is a process of “turning back on oneself” (Davies 1999: 4). Reflexivity is consistent with my theoretical approach to GCE outlined in chapter two, which is based on a constructionist epistemology and recognises knowledge is situated, partial and incomplete (Andreotti 2010). A commitment to reflexivity demands an unpacking of the knowledge constructed in this research.

Foley (2002) identifies three types of reflexivity: confessional, theoretical and intertextual. These concern being explicit about the position of the researcher within the research, epistemological and theoretical awareness, and consciousness of the selectivity of representational practices respectively. I have aimed to incorporate all three of these modes of reflexivity into the research process. While I am mindful of the critiques of overindulgence and narcissism which surround reflexivity (Coffey 2002; Foley 2002) and the difficulties/impossibilities of fully meeting the demands of reflexivity because of our limited ability to know our own assumptions and contexts (Rose 1997: 311), I recognise that an understanding of where the knowledge presented in this thesis has come from and how it was developed is important in assessing its validity.

There are a number of different tools associated with reflexivity, including writing fieldnotes and research journals to record decisions and personal identity work that often comes with prolonged research engagement, as well as longer personal accounts, ‘confessional tales’ and even autoethnographic methods (Coffey 2002). Like many others, I have kept a research diary throughout my PhD. My intention is also to weave a reflexive element throughout this chapter and the thesis as a whole. I have done this in the form of a series of reflective interludes between chapters, which aim to give an insight into my motivations, thought-processes and how these influenced my developing research questions, critical positioning, data collection and analysis.

In summary, ethnography offers a flexible approach for studying the meanings that participants’ ascribe to GCE in context. Although critics point to ethnography’s limited empirical generalisability (Hammersley 1992), at the same time, an in-depth focus on one school is what gives this research its strength. A few school-based ethnographic or in-depth case studies already exist in fields related to GCE including development education and multicultural education, which gave me confidence that such an approach is viable despite the difference in topic area (see e.g. Bryan 2006; Smith 1999).

My decision to undertake ethnographic research is also backed up by existing calls in the literature. The following section introduces Castle School, where this research was carried out and explains the choice of site.

Introducing Castle School

Castle School is a state-funded, non-religious secondary school with a specialism in technology, which acquired academy status during the period of fieldwork between April 2011 and July 2012. It has over 1,600 pupils aged between 11 and 19 on the school roll, and is situated in a small market town in the rural South of England. The community is relatively affluent and the proportion of pupils eligible for free school meals is below the national average (Ofsted 2010)⁶. The majority of students are white British (Ofsted 2010), reflecting the largely mono-cultural makeup of the town and surrounding catchment area. The town was described by a member of staff as “very middle England” (History Teacher, 16.05.12) and by others as the kind of school that needs GCE (Assistant Head, 11.02.11). A notice board in the language department shows that 24 languages are currently spoken by pupils in the school, although according to the Ofsted report only a very small number of these students are at the early stages of learning English. The largest minority of students in the school are Japanese, explained by the proximity of a Japanese car manufacturing plant where their parents are employed.

The school also maintains a close, yet changing, relationship with the Forces. In 2010, one in seven children at the school came from service families based at a nearby Forces base (Ofsted 2010). Several teachers also served in the Forces before entering the teaching profession. These links mean that conflicts, particularly Iraq and Afghanistan, and more recently Syria, were often at the forefront of people’s minds, contributing to a quiet ethos of respect, memorial and remembrance around the school, particularly on Remembrance Day.

Castle School has a reputation for academic excellence, which is built upon consistently high examination results, a strong performance in school league tables and an outstanding Ofsted inspection report. The school prides itself on these achievements:

⁶ The full reference has not been provided in order to protect the identity of the school.

Chapter Four

Our staff and facilities are outstanding and the outcomes for our students are amongst the best in the South West. We are proud of the very high achievements of our students, most stay into the sixth form and progress on from this school to top universities, including Oxford and Cambridge (School Prospectus, 2012).

However, this tradition of academic excellence did make for a pressurised working environment with a busy schedule of internal observations in order to maintain the high standards. Alongside this academic-orientation, many staff spoke of the importance of producing well-rounded people, people who are knowledgeable, responsible, empathetic, caring and able to make a difference.

We don't want our students to be educated, not simply qualifications alone. We want a well-rounded, educated, mature, responsible, empathetic citizen of the future who can make a difference and who does care about others (RE Teacher, 03.10.12).

The idea of creating or producing a well-rounded person was often expressed through the language of the International Baccalaureate (IB) learner profile. Although the school no longer offered the IB to sixth form students, they continued to use the IB learner profile in curriculum development and copies of the profile were displayed in many classrooms. According to the profile, the goal of education is to produce learners who are inquirers, knowledgeable, thinkers, communicators, principled, open-minded, caring, risk-takers, balanced and reflective.

Cutting across the twin goals of results- and person-orientation, Castle School prioritises GCE. This is reflected in the visual appearance of the school where a display of flags adorns the sixth form entrance foyer and a number of noticeboards around the school show off the school's links with partner schools and its numerous charitable fundraising initiatives. Most notable is the school's tagline – 'a global school in a local community' – which features on the headed notepaper of letters sent home to parents. The tagline was adopted as part of a whole school re-visioning day shortly after the current Head was appointed in 2010. The day involved senior management, governors, teachers, students and parents, but the tagline was chosen through a collaborative process.

Whilst there is no formal school policy about GCE, Castle School describes itself as having a "strong international ethos", encouraging "active citizenship" (School Prospectus, 2012) to enable students "to become global citizens of the future able to

make a positive contribution to society” (School Website, 2012).

Students leave us to join an ever-changing world and we have to ensure they are prepared for the challenges, from the day they arrive. Academic qualifications are crucial but we also develop the whole person and pride ourselves on producing responsible, health conscious, global, 21st century citizens (School Prospectus, 2012).

Castle School is widely recognised for its GCE work, having been reaccredited with an outstanding commendation in the International School Award (ISA) in 2011, as well as being designated a beacon school as part of the IOE’s Holocaust Education Development Programme (HGP). The school’s ‘international programme’ was also praised in its latest Ofsted report which reported that students “become very well acquainted with the world beyond the school gates” and “have the opportunity to work with others around the world through a burgeoning international programme” (Ofsted 2010: 5). The school is incredibly proud of these achievements but also recognises room for improvement and development.

I mean this school is really way forward than most, but at the same time I can see how far this could go and how much more there could be here, but it’s in the right direction and it’s got the right commitment to it so it could get there (Assistant Head, 29.02.12).

The initiatives which have earned the school its ‘global’ reputation include: links with partner schools around the world, numerous charitable initiatives, a highly regarded Holocaust and Genocide Education programme, and various collapsed timetable days and curriculum initiatives. Activities such as school linking and fundraising are common whole-school approaches to GCE (see e.g. Bourn and Hunt 2011; Davies *et al.* 2005; Hunt 2012). Castle School’s initiatives will be discussed in detail in chapter five. In the delivery of these initiatives, the school worked with a number of external organisations and programmes including the International School Award (ISA), International Baccalaureate (IB), Water for Malawi⁷, and the Holocaust Educational Trust (HET).

The school’s GCE work is overseen by an Assistant Head Teacher who is Head of Sixth Form and also takes overall responsibility for International Education (IE), as well as

⁷ Please note that the name of this charitable organisation has been altered in order to protect the identity of both the charity and the school.

Chapter Four

an International Education (IE) Co-ordinator and Holocaust and Genocide Programme (HGP) Co-ordinator. The Head Teacher is supportive of GCE, which previous research suggests is an important determinant to the success of GCE (Davies *et al.* 2005). Castle School also has links with two local Development Education Centres (DECs) – the first, a personal connection through the Assistant Head Teacher which was not actively maintained through the period of fieldwork. Yet, as discussed below, this link was instrumental for me in gaining access to the school. The school's relationship with the second DEC was more active. The DEC ran training on school linking at Castle School and teachers and students attended a debate about development organised by the DEC. The school linking training is explored later in this thesis.

The decision to base my research at Castle School was made on the basis of purposive sampling (O'Reilly 2009). Purposive sampling is based on knowledge of the school and the purpose of the study in order to make sure that the choice is relevant to the research questions (Bryman 2012). My research questions called for a school with a proactive stance towards GCE in order to provide data about what GCE is, what it means and how these meanings play out in practice. This criterion ensured that there were plenty of opportunities to learn about GCE in the school and to explore its complexity (Stake 2000).

However, Castle School is not intended to be representative. A booklet produced by the Enabling Effective Support initiative in the southwest (EES-SW 2007: 4) reports that, "the reality is that the vast majority of schools and teachers are not committed to the provision of a global dimension in the education of their students". In contrast to this "vast majority", Castle School had a range of existing and emerging GCE initiatives within the school, including numerous international links with partner schools, a Holocaust and Genocide Education Programme (HGP) and a number of charitable initiatives, which promised to provide ample opportunities to learn about GCE from the perspectives of the school community. Mitchell (1984) notes that it is often the unusual aspects of a case which make it interesting to study, as the idiosyncrasies can throw light on more general principles. In the language of case studies, Castle School offered elements of both intrinsic and instrumental interest (Stake 2000).

Often gaining initial access to the fieldwork site is considered to be one of the more difficult aspects of ethnographic work (Walford 2008). I was therefore surprised and

pleased to receive positive replies within a week from two schools responding to my request to meet (please refer to appendix 1 for copies of the initial letters I sent to the schools). These schools were selected on the basis of a recommendation from a local Development Education Centre (DEC) who knew the Assistant Head at Castle School. Both schools were recommended on the basis of being seen as examples of good practice in GCE with a potential interest in my research. I think the positive response came partly because the schools were proud of their GCE work and saw my research as something positive which might provide some recognition of the work they are doing.

However, I do recognise that purposive sampling is difficult to achieve in practice and identifying the school via a DEC may mean that the approach was more in line with conventional NGO approach. Walford (2008: 19) writes that, “while a school may be perceived to be at the forefront of developments, it may not actually be so. It may be that the school has a particularly good marketing strategy, rather than any solid achievements”. In the case of GCE, this school may be doing ‘soft’ GCE (Andreotti 2006b) as described in chapter two rather than CGCE, and may not offer insight beyond conventions. Nevertheless, after contacting the school, making an initial day-long visit and meeting the Head Teacher, Head of International Education, and the IE Co-ordinator in February 2011, I made the decision to base my fieldwork at Castle School. I also visited one other school at this stage but the school was not as open to my research approach and I did not feel so much at ease there.

This was the beginning of a constant process of negotiating access. As Walford (2008: 16) explains,

...access is a continuous process and...even after those with power within a school site have been persuaded to give access, the researcher has continually to negotiate further access to observe classrooms and to interview teachers and students. It can be seen as a process of building relationships with people, such that teachers and students learn to trust the researcher to the point they are prepared to allow the ethnographer to observe them with few restrictions and to be open about their perceptions and beliefs.

In my first week at Castle School I sent out an email via the IE co-ordinator to the school staff to introduce myself and explain my research (see appendix 2). I then gradually began to explain my research to individual teachers to negotiate access to classrooms and activities. In total I made 81 visits to the school between April 2011 and

July 2012. I spent approximately two days per week there over the course of more than an academic year. During this time I employed a number of different methods to explore and learn about GCE.

Methods for Creating Data

Methods refer to the research tools used to create data. In keeping with an ethnographic approach, I used multiple methods, including participant observation, interviews with staff and parents, discussion groups with pupils, and the collection of documents. This process took place between April 2011 and July 2012 in two overlapping phases as illustrated in figure 3 below. The first ‘familiarisation phase’ (April 2011 – July 2011) consisted mostly of participant observation and informal conversations. Barley (2011) argues that a period of familiarisation is important as it enables the researcher to get to know the setting, become acquainted with the norms, rules and language of the field location, locate and build relationships with participants, and identify and refine strategies for collecting and recording data. This led onto phase two (September 2011 – July 2012), the extended phase of study. Each method is described in detail below. For an overview of my visits to the school and the research activities I engaged in during each visit, please refer to my fieldwork log in appendix 3.

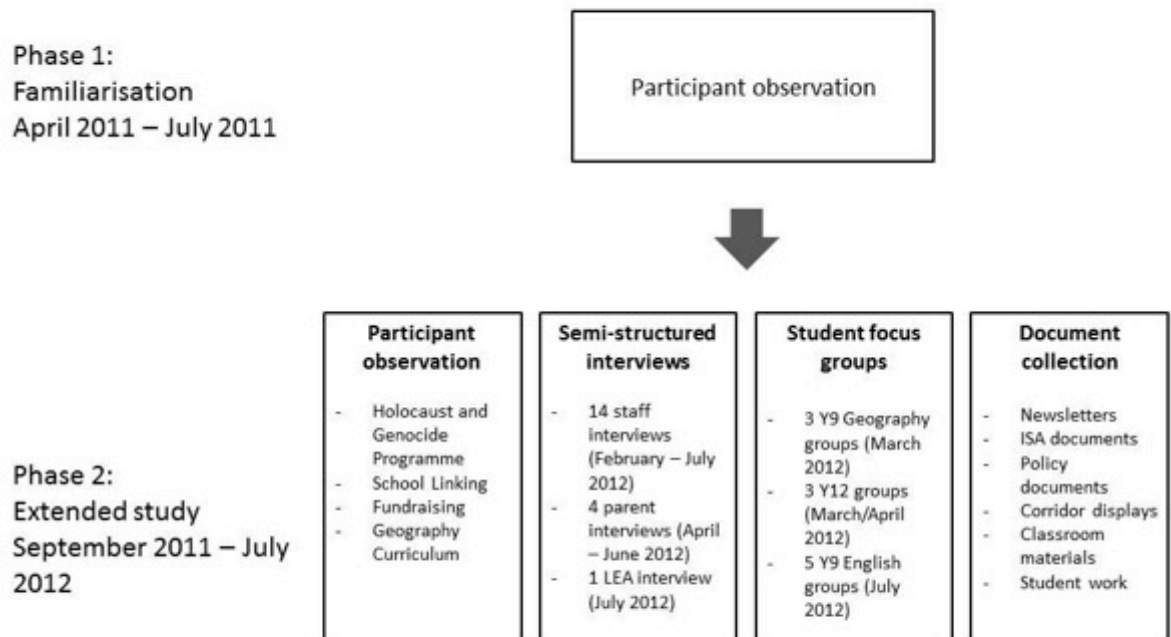


Figure 3: Overview of Fieldwork

Participant Observation

Participant observation formed an important part of this research. It has been described as the “mainstay of the ethnographic enterprise” (Werner and Schoepfle 1987: 257 in Angrosino 2005) or the “central plank” of qualitative research (Delamont 2002: 122) and consists of “establishing a place in some natural setting on a relatively long-term basis in order to investigate, experience and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting” (Emerson *et al.* 2001: 352). The critical role of the researcher in this process, in selecting where to go within the setting, filtering information, and interpreting and evaluating it, have long been recognised as potential problems with participant observation (Schwartz and Schwartz 1955). While all research is connected to the subjectivity of the researcher to some degree (Davies 1999), I have kept a detailed audit trail of notes and described my decisions about where to go to observe, how much to participate and how much to sit back and observe (i.e. researcher role). I have made my decision-making process transparent.

Chapter Four

Delamont (2002) points out that there are many different contexts within school, including assembly, break time, lesson time, the canteen, the staff room, and interstitial time such as in the corridors between lessons. Where should I go to study GCE? I wanted to avoid limiting my study to areas typically associated with GCE such as school linking or Geography lessons and instead explore participants' own understandings. Yet I did experience feelings of uncertainty about where to go to study GCE within the school. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 4) say, "ethnography is a demanding activity, requiring diverse skills, including the ability to make decisions in conditions of considerable uncertainty".

The familiarisation phase (summer term 2011) was pivotal in working out where to focus my observations. During this phase, I spent the majority of time shadowing one Y8 tutor group through their school day. This entailed going to registration, assembly and all their lessons, including PE and Maths; subjects which are not typically associated with GCE. In this phase, I saw a range of lessons, although not always a full unit or topic of work. I chose a Y8 group for the following reasons: firstly they were yet to make GCSE choices and were therefore studying the full range of curriculum subjects, secondly, they were often together as a whole group (which meant I could shadow everyone rather than singling out one pupil), thirdly, Y8 do not sit any major examinations so my presence in their classes would not be disruptive in this respect, and most importantly, they would be in Y9 during the main phase of my fieldwork. During Y9 students follow an extensive Holocaust and Genocide education programme in the school, which forms an important part of GCE. The group I shadowed stood out as an interesting group when I shadowed them for a day in my first week – they were a bubbly group and keen to talk and interact.

During this time, I varied the days of the week in which I visited school in order to observe a range of different lessons and meet a range of different teachers (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). This familiarisation phase was important within my research for a number of reasons. Firstly, although time-consuming, it provided a valuable opportunity to get to know the school routines, including the format of the timetable and the structure of the school day. These observations have gone on to play a key part in my analysis, as well as enabling me to begin to develop some rapport with participants, both students and teachers. Similarly, my presence around the school also enabled participants to become familiar with me before being asked to participate in more structured activities such as focus groups and interviews.

The familiarisation phase also provided plenty of opportunities for informal conversations about GCE with students and teachers. These unplanned conversations proved instrumental in learning and developing a language around my research topic that was approachable and familiar to participants. As noted in the introduction, the language and terminology around GCE is diffuse and confusing, even for those who are well initiated in the field. For example, the concept of GCE was often met with confused responses “e.g. “so it that anything that’s not UK then?” (English Teacher, 29.06.11). By listening to people talk and trying out questions informally, I learned how important it was to use the language of the school in my research. For example, the school tagline is ‘*A Global School in a Local Community*’. Asking people what this meant to them was often met with a more engaged response than asking more abstract questions about global citizenship or global learning.

During the familiarisation phase, I also began to establish a picture of the forms of GCE important within the school and which teachers were involved in what kinds of activities. While I was sometimes surprised and found examples of GCE in unexpected places, for example, in a Maths lesson where the focus was on cooperation within a team project (Fieldnotes, 05.05.11), many of the initial lessons I observed were clearly not connected to GCE for my participants, as demonstrated by comments such as “I’m not sure how much you’ll get from this” (R.E. Teacher, Fieldnotes, 16.06.11). Taking direction from members of staff and students about where I should go and what counted as GCE in the school, I was able to identify a number of ‘territories’ (Hopwood 2007b) or spaces, as I prefer to call them, within the school. These formed the focus for the more purposeful participant observation in the extended phase of my research.

These spaces included:

- Holocaust and Genocide Programme (HGP): collapsed timetable days, extra-curricular reading group, History lessons, community events, online discussion boards
- School linking: visits from partner schools, DEC training day, feedback from student visits
- Fundraising: non-school uniform days
- Enrichment week and collapsed timetable days
- ASDAN programmes and award schemes
- Formal curriculum

Chapter Four

During the extended phase, participant observation was much more about deepening understanding of what people are doing and why in relation to GCE and often provided a stimulus for more detailed follow up in interview and discussion groups. In this phase I adopted a 'selective intermittent time mode' described by Jeffrey and Troman (2004: 540) as "a very flexible approach to the frequency of site visits". I picked and chose the days I went in to school depending on what would be happening that day. I also observed longer sequences of lessons which were of relevance to GCE, for example I observed a full '80:20' unit in Geography which covered international development, as well as a Global Footprints unit. This more "focused approach" (Green and Bloome 1997: 183) allowed me to ensure that my remaining time at Castle School was spent usefully looking at GCE rather than sitting through lessons on unrelated topics such as trigonometry. It enabled me to look at the differences between what people say and what they do. For example, participant observation showed that whilst participants rarely spoke of the 'critical' in interviews, there were elements of CGCE present in their practice. This element of participant observation in bringing out the differences between what participants say and do could be further developed in future work by interviewing teachers after lesson observations about the decisions that they made and their reflections on the lessons.

Sometimes the most interesting moments of participant observation happened serendipitously. For example, one of the most interesting conversations occurred between two teachers and myself in the staffroom as I was explaining about my research. The teachers had differing views about GCE and the school's approach and their dialogue proved very insightful (Fieldnotes, 21.03.12). On another occasion I was invited to attend the internal interviews for a new IE co-ordinator at the school, and another time to take part in the Bangladesh Cluster Link training session. This unplanned aspect is one of the benefits of an ethnographic approach and allowed me to be directed by what was important within the school, and to see things that I was not expecting to see.

As is common in ethnographic work (Emerson *et al.* 2001), I made fieldnotes and kept detailed descriptions of lessons, activities, and informal conversations during participant observation. I recorded details of the lesson/activity/conversation including the topic, aims, activities, materials used, notable reactions and comments of teachers and students in A5 notes books while I was in the field in the form of 'jotted notes'. I expanded these into full typed fieldnotes each evening, together with any

initial reflections or interpretations. It seemed appropriate to make notes while in the classroom as the students were often writing too; this meant that I had something to do and did not need to rely only on my memory when writing them out in full later. Few people commented on my note taking activity, although one teacher did ask at one point what I was writing down (Fieldnotes, 29.06.11). Her comment suggests that my note taking had acted as a reminder to participants that a researcher was still present and was carrying out research (Carspecken 1996). For an example of my jotted notes and full notes, please see appendix 4.

Researcher Positionality

During my visits to Castle School, I occupied an in-between status – I was not a member of the school community but I was not quite a visitor either. I was easily identifiable by the visitor's badge hanging around my neck and I signed in at reception when I arrived for each visit. However, I had much more freedom than other visitors. Usually visitors were met at reception and guided around the school, meaning that their time was always planned out and accompanied. I was treated in this way on my first day, but after this I had much more freedom to plan my own time within the school. In many ways I was familiar with being in schools, having been both a pupil and a teaching assistant in other semi-rural English secondary schools. Yet I was also new to this school. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 89) suggest that this kind of in-between position has the benefit of providing access to participant perspectives, while minimising the dangers of over-rapport. My visitor's badge signalled to others that I was not a member of the school and did not necessarily know the rules and set up, thus excusing me from 'duties' such as having to keep the peace in the corridors and enabling me to ask more questions.

While I was in school, despite having introduced myself as a researcher, I was often mistaken for being a PGCE student. This was made apparent by comments from both pupils and teachers. On several occasions students asked me why I wanted to become a teacher or when I was going to start teaching them. The school hosted several PGCE students during the period of my fieldwork, which meant that students were used to having PGCE students sitting in on their classes and staff were used to seeing different faces around the school. It was therefore easy to see why they would presume that I was also a PGCE student. I always corrected this interpretation and reminded them that I was doing research.

Chapter Four

During fieldwork, my role and identity varied. I intended to adopt the role of a volunteer classroom assistant (like Hopwood 2007a) and this was noted by the school in my application to the Criminal Records Bureau for my background check. However, in practice my role was not as clearly defined as this. It varied and shifted over time depending on my familiarity with the teachers and students, the layout of the classroom and whether tables and chairs were arranged in groups or rows, the nature of the activity and the other people involved; sometimes I was more of a participant, joining in activities, sharing experiences and emotions, and contributing to debates, and sometimes more of an observer on the outside, detached, watching and listening but not taking part.

During the familiarisation phase, I was in many different classrooms with different teachers and I frequently adopted the role of an observer or visitor in their classrooms – often the teacher would direct me to a spare chair at the back of the room and I was comfortable just to watch what was going on and make notes so as not to interfere with the lesson. At other times I adopted the role of an informal classroom assistant, talking to students about their work, answering their questions and helping to keep them on-task. I am naturally shy, and, as Wolcott (2008) notes, for those who are “naturally shy and reticent” it might be easier to “withdraw and become an onlooker” (Wolcott 2008: 51).

In other settings participation was much more appropriate and even expected. For example, I attended a training day on school linking run by a local DEC and in this session I was part of a group of teachers and took part in activities to explore the difficulties and dilemmas surrounding school partnerships. On this day, I did not make an explicit decision to participate but was simply guided to a chair on one of the group tables. I also participated actively in the Holocaust and Genocide Education reading group, reading the books alongside the other members. This enabled me to experience the same challenges as participants in talking about a difficult topic – for example, the perversity of saying that you enjoyed a book about something as horrific as the Holocaust. As Pink (2009) suggests, participation is part of the knowledge production process – ‘knowing in practice’ or ‘learning by doing’ – where deep engagement enables the researcher to construct knowledge using multiple senses. This was not my initial intention with participant observation, but in the reading group it felt most natural to join in rather than simply listen in on such sensitive and difficult

discussions. I felt that I should only be there if I was also sharing and contributing my own impressions and ideas about the books and arising issues.

This gave me access to another level of meaning within the school. For example, sharing my own opinion about the book *Christophe's Story* was revealing in itself because of the response it prompted and insights into teachers' concerns over moral relativism. This is an example of what Maxwell (2013) refers to as using reactivity productively.

However, my familiarity with the school and English school settings was not without challenge. This was partly bound up in the challenge of 'making the familiar strange', which is a central part of much ethnographic research. Delamont et al. (2010) write of the difficulties inherent in doing ethnographic research in contemporary classrooms in a familiar cultural setting. They quote Becker (1971: 10 in Delamont et al. 2010: 3) who explains,

it is first and foremost a matter of it all being so familiar that it becomes impossible to single out events that occur in the classroom as things that have occurred, even when they happen right in front of you.

Often, ethnographers adopt the role of "acceptable incompetence" (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 81), allowing them to ask questions. Prior to starting my fieldwork I thought about how I would 'make the familiar strange' and considered different strategies I could use. Delamont *et al.* (2010) suggest a number of techniques including revisiting past educational ethnographies, studying the phenomenon in an unfamiliar cultural setting, taking the standpoint of the researcher who is 'other', taking the viewpoint of actors other than the commonest types of teachers and students in the school, or studying teaching and learning outside formal educational settings. I considered ways I could incorporate these strategies, for example, by talking to the cooks and cleaners about their views on GCE, or by spending time in different locations in the school. In the end, I decided that postcolonial theory would give me a lens through which to take the standpoint of the 'other'.

What I was not prepared for was the particular form in which 'making the familiar strange' would take and that I would need to make a conscious effort to try to see beyond my own common sense. I am similar to my participants in many ways. Like many of them, I recognise my relative material privilege and I understand the urge to want to do something about complex global inequalities, the urge to try to make things

Chapter Four

'right'. I too have grown up with a very Western moral compass of 'right' and 'wrong', 'good' and 'bad' and I am not particularly comfortable with uncertainty, of not knowing what is the 'right' course of action.

Yet questions around these ideas were difficult to ask about, partly because they are so 'obvious', both to me and to my participants. By way of example, on one occasion a group of Y9 students were having a discussion about how the school helps a village community in Malawi by providing donations through a small charity. I asked how they thought the Malawians would feel about being recipients of charity.

CB: how do you think the people in Malawi might feel when they've been helped? How do you think they feel about the help?

P1: happy [laughter]...bit blunt but

P2: it's a basic emotion (Y9 discussion, 16.07.12).

The boys were surprised by my question and did not seem to know how to respond, as illustrated by their laughter. For them it was obvious that the Malawians would feel happy to receive charitable donations and therefore my question seemed alien to them, as it might have done to me a few years ago before I initiated myself into readings on postcolonial and post-development theory.

My increasing participation and familiarity within the school also meant that I had to make decisions about how far to share my own views. I made the decision not to give too much away about my own views of GCE or my critical framework during the fieldwork – obviously I will always have an influence on the research but revealing my own stance would introduce new levels of reactivity which I wanted to avoid. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 72), note, "as a researcher, one often has to suppress or play down personal beliefs, commitments, and political sympathies". This was difficult as I was often asked for my opinion. For example, having observed the interviews for the IE co-ordinator, I was then asked for my opinion as an 'expert' in GCE. When asked directly, I gave an open and honest answer.

Semi-Structured Interviews

During the extended phase of research I also conducted a series of semi-structured interviews to explore topics in more depth and follow up on issues arising during participant observation. These included 14 interviews with teaching staff, 4 interviews

with parents and one interview with the International Development Officer at the Local Education Authority. At the time of fieldwork, there were 102 teaching staff at Castle School, plus 17 learning mentors. I interviewed 14 of these staff, including two members of the senior leadership team, although I spoke to many others informally. Tables 3 and 4 below provide details of the staff and parent interviews.

Table 3: Details of Staff Interviews

Reference	Job Title/s	Interview date
1	Head Teacher	29.06.12
2	Assistant Head Teacher, Head of Sixth Form, Head of International	29.02.12
3	International Education Co-ordinator, Geography Teacher	26.04.12
4	Holocaust and Genocide Programme Co-ordinator, RE Teacher	23.05.11 plus informal conversations
5	Responsible for charitable initiatives and ECM	11.05.12
6	English Teacher	28.03.12
7	Drama Teacher, HoD	22.06.12
8	RE Teacher, HoD	22.06.12
9	English Teacher	30.05.12
10	Science/Physics Teacher	16.07.12
11	Maths Teacher	23.05.12
12	Music Teacher	24.05.12
13	MFL Teacher, HoD	02.07.12
14	Learning Mentor	15.03.12
15	Local International Development Officer, County Council	20.07.12

Table 4: Details of Parent Interviews

Reference	Involvement with school	Interview date
Parent One	Mother of Y9 girl and two older boys	25.04.12
Parent Two	Father of Y9 girl and Y6 boy	03.05.12
Parent Three	Mother of one Y9 boy	09.05.12
Parent Four	Mother of one Y9 girl and one older boy	13.06.12

While participant observation enabled me to engage in informal conversations with staff, these were often hurried snippets of conversation before or after lessons or during break and lunchtime in the staff room, and referred to specific activities or topics. The formal semi-structured interviews afforded time in a busy schedule to ask broader questions about the overall aims and meanings behind GCE as well as follow up on specific things which had arisen during observations. In total I interviewed 14 teaching staff, mostly towards the end of the fieldwork period. This group of teachers

Chapter Four

were selected for different reasons and decisions about who to interview were based on observations during my participant observation. Some were interviewed because of their role in relation to GCE – I interviewed the members of the senior leadership team (SLT), teaching staff and learning mentors with a responsibility or interest in GCE. Others were interviewed to get a spread of teachers across departments. All departments except for DT and ICT are represented in the interviews – attempts were made to include these departments but this was not possible before the end of the fieldwork period.

Most of the teachers interviewed were committed to GCE in some shape or form. However, the nature of this commitment varied. Some were actively engaged in GCE activities and topics including the IE co-ordinator, Assistant Head, HGP co-ordinator, charity co-ordinator, English Teacher, Drama Teacher, MFL Teacher and learning mentor, while others supported the idea of teaching and learning about global issues in theory but were less actively engaged in practice. For example, the Music Teacher, Science Teacher and RE Teacher. However, the level of commitment to criticality was much lower. Of those interviewed, I would describe two as committed to critical GCE and this was evident in the way they spoke about GCE, as well as in their teaching practice.

Having already observed many lessons and spent time in school, many of the teachers were already known to me by the time the interviews took place. In many cases, we had already had a number of informal conversations and exchanges. Central to ethnographic interviewing (Heyl 2001), these prior encounters enabled me to build rapport with the participants and hopefully led to more relaxed, open discussions.

A semi-structured style was adopted because of the suitability for exploring the ways in which participants understand GCE. Kvale (2007: 8) defines semi-structured interviews as “interviews with the purpose of obtaining descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena”. In order to investigate the meanings interviewees attributed to GCE, each interview focused around a series of themes developed in relation to the research questions and in light of the participant observation:

- the nature of global citizenship education, what it means to be a global school in a local community, and the goals and aims associated with it
- approach to teaching GCE, how they bring global issues into the classroom

- worries or challenges associated with GCE

Within each theme I prepared a series of open-ended questions (see appendix 5), although I did not stick to these rigidly during the interviews, varying the order, and asking different questions to get further into ideas and issues as they arose. I also took along a series of prompt materials including an extract from the school website which a quote about GCE: “we aim to equip our students to become global citizens of the future, able to make a positive contribution to society”, and the relevant section of the school’s own international audit. These materials provided a helpful way of starting a conversation.

I recognise that an interview involves at least two people and “their exchanges lead to the creation of a collaborative effort called the interview” (Fontana and Frey 2005: 696) My own influence on the interview – in asking or failing to ask particular questions – had a significant influence on the data constructed. I have reflected on my own role as a researcher in more depth in the interlude following this chapter. Each interview lasted between 30-60 minutes and took place in the location of the participant’s choice, depending on timing and convenience. Most interviews took place in classrooms or offices, one teacher was interviewed outside in the school grounds, one in the school canteen, and a learning mentor was interviewed in her home.

I also decided to interview parents as a way of capturing other settings of GCE, going beyond the walls of the school (Nespor 2004). Parents were recruited using the student consent forms. I asked parents of Y9 students to provide contact details if they would be interested in taking part. Although response rate was low and I was only able to arrange four interviews in the allocated time, these were nevertheless all fruitful encounters and provide a valuable insight into the way that parents see GCE in the school and the importance they attribute to this. There is relatively little research on parent views of GCE (but see Think Global 2011c), so this helped to provide a more holistic account of GCE in the school context. For an interview guide, please see appendix 6. All parents were interviewed in their homes. All teacher and parent interviews were recorded using a small audio-recorder in all but two cases where teachers preferred not to be recorded. In these instances, I made hand-written notes and added detail immediately following the interview.

Student Discussion Groups

To create space to talk to students in a more structured way about their understandings of GCE, I held three sets of discussion groups. Similar to the teachers, it was hard to find time to talk to the students for more than a few minutes in the context of everyday participant observation without feeling as if I was disrupting lessons. The main advantage of group discussions is that they provide insight into interaction and how groups of students make meaning. As O'Reilly (2009: 80) says, "they generate conflicting ideas, cause people to think about things they may not have considered alone..., cause participants to question assumptions, and to perhaps change their minds". As well as the students' views, I was also able to understand how they constructed these views, where they came from and the status of GCE within the school, which is in keeping with my commitment to epistemological constructivism. Discussion groups are particularly well-suited to exploring abstract topics such as GCE, to which participants might not have given much prior thought (Barbour 2007). Ethically too, I found that students responded much more confidently as part of a group. It's easier to say 'I don't know' in a group situation rather than in an interview where there is arguably more pressure for individuals to respond and to say something that they feel is meaningful. All discussion groups were audio-recorded and transcribed by me. The three different types of discussion groups are described below.

Y9 Geography Groups

The first set of three discussion groups took place in March 2012 during Geography lesson time and involved 13 Y9 students (two groups of five and one group of three). I had been shadowing their Geography class since the beginning of February and the purpose of the discussion groups was to talk to the students about their understandings of GCE as well as their reflections on the 80:20 unit they were studying in Geography at the time. After an informal explanation from me, the whole class were given information sheets and consent forms to take home to their parents. Those who wanted to take part were asked to return the forms signed by both them and their parents. Of those who returned the form, everyone took part in a discussion group except for one boy who chose not to take part on the day of the discussion. The chance to get out of part of a lesson seemed to act as an incentive to take part. Each group lasted approximately half an hour.

The discussions followed a semi-structured format (see appendix 7 for a list of topics and questions) and my intention was to stimulate discussion around those topics.

- Being a global school in a local community – what makes this school a global school in a local community? Why is this important?
- 80: 20 unit: what have you learnt? What do you think are the main causes of poverty? Who or what is responsible for poverty? What are your questions about this unit?

These discussions yielded rich data about conceptualisations of poverty in particular, although due to their location within Geography lesson time, this might have influenced participants' thinking about GCE.

Y12 Photo-elicitation groups

A series of two discussion groups were held with eight Y12 students also during March 2012. In the first session, the students met in three groups (of 4,3,1 student respectively) and in the second session, I met the students in pairs or individually (a 2,2,1,1). This was purely because it proved incredibly difficult to find a time when all the students could meet together for a group discussion based on their differing timetables, twilight sessions and after school commitments. Students were self-selected for participation. I visited all six Y12 tutor groups and explained my research and the purpose of the discussion groups; students were then asked to sign up with their email addresses if they were interested in taking part. Of the 30 who signed up, only nine responded to my emails to arrange a time for the first workshop.

Colucci (2007) notes that topics may be less threatening when discussed through practical and enjoyable tasks. For these discussion groups, I used the first session to introduce my research and explore the idea of being 'a global school in a local community'. I ended by asking the students to carry out an auto-photo elicitation exercise which is commonly combined with ethnography (Clark-Ibanez 2004; Harper 2002).

Over the next week please could you keep a photographic record of where you learn about global issues in your day-to-day life. Feel free to interpret this in the way that makes most sense for you. You might choose to show topics you have covered in school lessons, conversations with friends and family, books or articles you have read, things you saw on the internet or TV. When we meet next time I will ask you about what the photo is and why you have taken it.

Chapter Four

I wanted to give the students space to explore GCE on their own terms, thinking about where they encounter learning about global issues, how this is part of their day-to-day lives, what they think about GCE and how they see their own role and responsibilities in relation to GCE. Clark-Ibanez (2004) notes that photo-elicitation is an ideal way to study students' home and community lives, cutting across contexts. I was interested in their understandings of the 'global' and how they position themselves in relation to global issues. I therefore chose not to limit the instructions to GCE in school but left it up to the students to decide what counted as GCE for them. The images were then discussed in the second session.

In this sense, the images are understood as the product of the task set (Croghan *et al.* 2008). It is the interpretations and explanations provided by the students that were of primary interest rather than the images themselves. Often the visual is a trigger for an oral response (Croghan *et al.* 2008) and this proved to be the case in the discussion groups which covered topics of school linking, charitable giving and the Holocaust and Genocide Programme. Like Banks (2007) suggests, the photos also provided a way to ease rapport during discussions as it gave participants something to focus on and acted as a kind of 'neutral third party'. This was especially important as I had not spent much time with the sixth-form students before and did not know many of the participants as well as I did the Y9 students.

However, like Davies *et al.* (2005) found, many students took photos of symbols associated with GCE including maps on display boards around the school, flags hanging in the entrance to the sixth form and artwork displayed along the corridors associated with the Holocaust. In subsequent conversations about their photographs, I realised that they were not able to say why they took these photos and they did not always have any particular meaning or significance. They were just things that they associated with the 'global', a concept which in everyday understanding is abstract and not easily identifiable. For example, one student took a photograph of the flags in the sixth form. When I asked her to talk me through her photos she explained that, "I took a picture of the flags we have in our school because we know about things happening all over the world" (Y12 Student, 28.03.12). She then quickly moved on to other photographs. For this reason, some of the follow-up interviews were incredibly brief, with students giving very short answers, and I found myself asking increasingly closed questions to keep the conversation going.

Y9 student moderated groups

The third approach to student discussion groups was a student-moderated approach. Having developed a good relationship with a member of the English department, I arranged to do some discussion activities with her Y9 English class. She was enthusiastic and we collaboratively designed a session which would fit with the requirements of her speaking and listening assessment, meaning the students would get something out of the discussion for their English class too. Working with her and drawing upon her expertise and familiarity with the students helped me to make the most of the discussion. Information sheets and consent forms were sent home to parents in advance of the planned session and only those students with consent participated.

The students were split into five self-selected groups of four. This natural grouping has been encouraged by Kitzinger (1994 in Bryman 2012) since it allows more natural and comfortable discussion. Following a general introduction by me to explain what research is and the aims of this research (see appendix 8), the students were given a series of prompts and topics and asked to discuss them in their groups:

- what you think it means to be a global citizen
- who is a global citizen
- how your school is envisaging a global citizen / how you think your teachers see a global citizen
- what you are learning about global citizenship at school
- what you like/don't like learning in terms of global citizenship and why
- what you would like to learn in terms of global citizenship and why
- importance of global citizenship

On the advice of the teacher, I made the list of prompts fairly long – in her experience, the students like to work within a structure. Some of the students move quickly, whereas others will spend the whole time on the first question. Having a longer list therefore gave each group flexibility to move at their own speed. I gave each group an A3 sheet of paper and coloured pens to make a map of their ideas as they discussed them. An audio recorder was placed on each table to record the group discussions. The students were given fifteen minutes to discuss. During this time, their teacher and I circulated around the groups and occasionally asked how they were getting on. At the end of this time, each group was asked to formulate five discussion questions of their

Chapter Four

own about GCE in their school. They then moved to a whole group discussion (20 people) which lasted approximately 20 minutes. During this time, the students were free to take the discussion in any direction they wished. I ended the session with a reflection activity. I gave each student three post-its and asked them to write their own definition of a global citizen, their most important GCE experience, and any reflections on the discussion activity.

In general, the student-moderated approach provided rich data, including insights into *how* the students construct meaning around GCE. Working in peer groups meant that the students were able to discuss and debate their ideas freely without feeling constrained. Many students commented at the end in the reflection activity that they had enjoyed the experience. For example, “we have been able to express our thoughts and ideas openly and were given some independence to tell everyone our opinions” (Y9 Student 16.07.12) and “I enjoyed today because it has made me more open-minded about other people’s ideas on global citizenship education” (Y9 Student 16.07.12). However, it did mean that I was not able to control the direction of the discussion. In the whole class exercise, the discussion moved to a more abstract and theoretical level about what it means to be a global citizen and whether this is automatic or earned. This was in itself interesting, but meant that my focus on the everyday meanings of GCE in the school was partly lost.

Documents

Finally, I also collected a variety of GCE-related documents while I was at Castle School in order to gain another dimension on how GCE played out. Like many organisations, schools are self-documenting in that they consume and create large amounts of documentation which “construct “facts”, “records”, “diagnoses”, “decisions”, and “rules” that are crucially involved in social activities” (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 121). My approach involved collecting anything which related to GCE. This included a copy of the school’s ISA International Audit, reports from e-twinning activities, school newsletters which are produced termly, lesson plans/schemes of work, information from the school website, policy documents, prospectuses and annual reports, photographs of GCE notice-boards and displays, copies of textbooks, worksheets and student work and posts on the online discussion forum connected to the Holocaust and Genocide Education programme. Some of these

were later used as stimuli in interviews. These documents were analysed in context with consideration of who produced the document and why.

Analysis, Interpretation and Writing

In this section, I turn to consider the approach I took to analysis, interpretation and writing up. After finishing fieldwork in July 2012, analysing, interpreting and writing up my data took approximately 18 months. The process of analysis started while I was in the field with writing up fieldnotes, transcribing interviews, and reflecting on what was happening in the school, but as Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) note, it was not until I had finished my fieldwork that I had the time and space (intellectual and emotional) to really process and analyse my data.

Many point out that there is no formula or recipe for the analysis of ethnographic data (e.g. Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). O'Reilly (2009: 13) describes ethnographic analysis as a “messy business” and Dunne, Pryor and Yates (2005) explain how it involves the relationship between both data and theory, “looking back to the field and forward to the report” (Dunne *et al.* 2005: 75). Initially, I had planned to use critical discourse analysis (CDA), inspired particularly by the work of Fairclough who offers an approach compatible with ethnography (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Macgilchrist and van Hout 2011). However, the emphasis of my research shifted away from critique and I wondered: How would I define competing discourses? What would it mean to see one discourse as hegemonic? How did the teachers and students at my school fit into this theoretical framework? Did it render them as somehow cultural ‘dupes’? How would this enable me to answer my research questions?

While CDA is premised on a concept of hegemony (i.e. the idea that there is no alternative) (Laclau 1990 in Macgilchrist and van Hout 2011), ethnography is concerned with exploring heterogeneity and “recording social activity in as much of its complexity and messiness as possible” (Macgilchrist and van Hout 2011: no page). To me, a pure form of CDA therefore proved unhelpful. Nevertheless, I continued to be guided by a relaxed understanding of discourse, where discourse is “an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to a phenomena” (Gasper and Abthorpe 1996: 2 in Hilhorst 2003: 8). I also drew from thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2012), and narrative or connecting analysis (Maxwell 2013) at different stages during my analysis. I used different tools and techniques including

Chapter Four

NVIVO, mind-mapping and bubble mapping and found that different tools were helpful in different ways. The following section gives an overview of the process I took and the different techniques I used and why. To write this section, I have imposed a certain amount of linearity on what was often a much more messy, intuitive and simultaneous process. The headings below explain the turning points, the processes which helped me to move forward in the data analysis.

Getting to Know the Data

Becoming familiar with my data began during the fieldwork phase with writing up my fieldnotes, writing reflections and memos on my emerging ideas, and transcribing interviews and focus groups. After finishing my fieldwork, I took a couple of weeks off before returning to my data and uploading them to NVIVO. Like most ethnographic data, my data were unstructured and existed in a number of different forms including fieldnotes, interview and discussion group transcripts, photographs of noticeboards and student work, as well as a variety of documents (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Uploading and sorting through everything was a time-consuming process in itself. I then began to systematically read through my notes and transcripts. I created a series of mind-maps on large sheets of paper to help organise my initial impressions and wrote an initial report for my supervisors, which at this stage was largely descriptive focusing very much on the activities that the school were doing. The process of familiarising with my data continued throughout the analysis and into the writing process.

Development of Organisational Categories

I then began to develop a series of organisational categories or topics. These were the three broad areas and issues that I wanted to investigate further: spaces/forms of GCE, meanings and understandings of GCE, and challenges of GCE. For me, these operated in the way Maxwell (2013: 107) describes, that is, “primarily as bins for sorting the data for further analysis”. They formed the folders in my NVIVO project and later enabled me to organise my categorising codes. They are also used in my thesis to structure my three analysis chapters, with each organisational topic forming the content basis of one chapter. While these categories were only made explicit once I started my formal analysis process, I am aware that they did not simply ‘emerge’. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 159) note that, “emergence is a function of the analytic work one puts

in: it does not just happen". They were implicit all along in the way I directed my observations in the school, what I chose to write about in my fieldnotes, and the questions I asked in interviews and focus groups, thus reflecting my own understandings about GCE in school.

Generating Codes

My next step was to begin to re-read and look for themes within the data using a coding process similar to that described by Braun and Clarke (2012). This provided a way of "identifying, organising, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set" (Braun and Clarke 2012: 57). It was a way of identifying what is common about the way a topic (in this case GCE) is talked about and experienced. For this I used NVIVO. My research questions call for a two pronged approach to coding similar to the one advocated by Gough and Scott (2000). My first question is about participants' understandings and meaning making around GCE. This is suited to an inductive or emic approach to coding, which is driven by the bottom-up meanings associated with GCE for participants. My second question is about the lessons which can be drawn from this experience for developing a CGCE. This question lends itself to a more deductive, theory-driven or etic approach to coding based on the theoretical concepts outlined in chapter two.

For example, the following extract from an interview with an English teacher generated the following codes: getting people to care, technology, distance, overcoming distance, doing something, helping. These are highlighted in the figure below.

Yeah, I think it's about getting young people to care about what's going on in the rest of the world. And I think technology as it is, facebook, mobile phones, twitter, the internet, you can access anything at anytime, but I think in doing that, you're actually distancing yourself from any kind of real life events. Which is why somebody can watch the news about what's happening in Syria and look at sometimes quite graphic images, and I did this myself the other day even though I consider myself to be fairly, whatever the word is, aware, and you know, I do care about what's going on. But even so I was having my dinner, and the images, there were all these bodies lined up in the hall and they were talking about how children had been stabbed, and all these awful things, and there were a couple of seconds where I was like that's awful, that's awful, and then the next news item came on which I think was about the torch relay and I wasn't so interested in that, so I turned the channel, didn't think about it again. And I just think, it's all very well that we can access all of this information and

Chapter Four

we can see all of these things, but actually technology is isolating us and I think it's the school's responsibility as one who claims to be a global community or whatever it is, a global school in a local community, and I think it's our responsibility to break down those barriers that technology has built up, and get them to care, not just care and go how awful, but to actually want to do something about it and to see the people of Syria as their neighbours and people that are worth helping.

Figure 5: Example of a Coded Extract

The list of codes generated for each of the organisational categories is provided in appendix 9.

At this stage I shared some extracts of my data with peers and asked them to carry out their own coding using my organisational categories. I also asked them to note anything else which struck them as being important. Interestingly, they highlighted similar codes and agreed with my emerging interpretations but they also pointed to some different interpretations which I had not seen or drawn attention to at that time. For example, ideas about the tension between giving and taking, and ideas about the actual process of meaning making taking place in the student discussion groups. At this stage, I could not see how to use these ideas, but they later became important in my interpretations and I am grateful for those discussions with fellow students, which have helped to make my account more credible (Maxwell 2013).

At times, it was difficult to see how to move forward. I had lists of codes but these seemed to highlight substantive issues which were removed from my theoretical framework. For example, there was relatively little explicit mention or evidence of understanding of complicity within the school, despite the importance of this in the theory. There were also instances where I felt frustrated with myself for not asking another question or a better question or wished that I had probed more deeply into the meanings that GCE has for participants. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 159) provide some reassurance, suggesting that I am not alone in my frustrations, since "...when it comes to concentrating on analysis, it is often found that the data required to check a particular interpretation are missing...". For example, a significant theme emerging from my data was the importance of 'doing something' or 'helping'. At the time of my fieldwork, I was confident in this theme. I recognised how much it kept coming up and I knew that I could draw on postcolonial critiques to challenge this discourse. It was not until well into the formal analysis that I realised what I needed to do, however, was not 'critique' but 'understand', i.e. thinking about why helping is so important for

participants. I was fortunate in that some participants had offered this information unsolicited, and I have incorporated this into my analysis and still been able to draw reasonable interpretations and conclusions. However, future work could benefit from a deeper probing into the 'why' of the helping discourse and understanding other meanings around GCE. These 'why' questions play an important part in understanding the meanings of GCE for participants and asking them is consistent with the critical theoretical framework I am using.

Searching for Connections and Relationships

Although helpful, I found that NVIVO had fragmented my data and distanced me from it. The tendency of this software to fracture data arises from its tendency to prioritise categorising forms of analysis as noted by Maxwell (2013). At this stage I printed off the interview transcripts, discussion transcripts and a selection of fieldnotes describing events that had proved interesting so far. Using highlighter pens and handwritten memos, I began to explore the relationships and links between my data, seeing it in the context of the interview or observation. This was an important stage in to exploring the 'latent' meanings, i.e., the assumptions and ideas which lie behind what is explicitly stated in participants' accounts of GCE (Braun and Clarke 2012). This holistic approach enabled me to see my data in a different way and explore the 'why' behind the spaces and meanings of GCE, as well as noting a number of challenges and tensions, which had not been apparent before. This is a form of narrative analysis or a connecting strategy and involves, as Maxwell (2013: 106) explains, "seeing actual connections between things, rather than similarities or differences".

I summarised this new phase of analysis using bubble maps such as the one in figure 5 below which was created for the Head Teacher's interview. This technique allowed me to look at my data in a different way. I began to appreciate the ways in which participants were explaining and experiencing things in a much more nuanced way. I began to actually apply the techniques from my theoretical framework to my own data – asking where a particular assumption or meaning has come from, how it is situated in relation to other meanings, and thinking about my own position within the account. For example, the Head Teacher talked about GCE as being important so that students realise how lucky they are. By looking for the links and relationships, the perceived origins and consequences of ideas, I could map how he envisaged students developing

Chapter Four

this awareness i.e. by gaining awareness of awful atrocities and through knowledge of what happens elsewhere around the world. For him, this recognition of privilege was important for encouraging students to work really hard and take advantage of the opportunities they have, as well as encouraging them to give to society. Mapping it out in this way, I was also able to recognise the tension in his account of 'giving' on the one hand and 'taking' on the other. This tension is illustrated by a red arrow in the bubble map below. The different colours represent his understandings of the aims of the school (blue circles), his understandings of GCE (green circles), and GCE activities and initiatives (yellow circles). This allowed me to look for relationships between the topics.

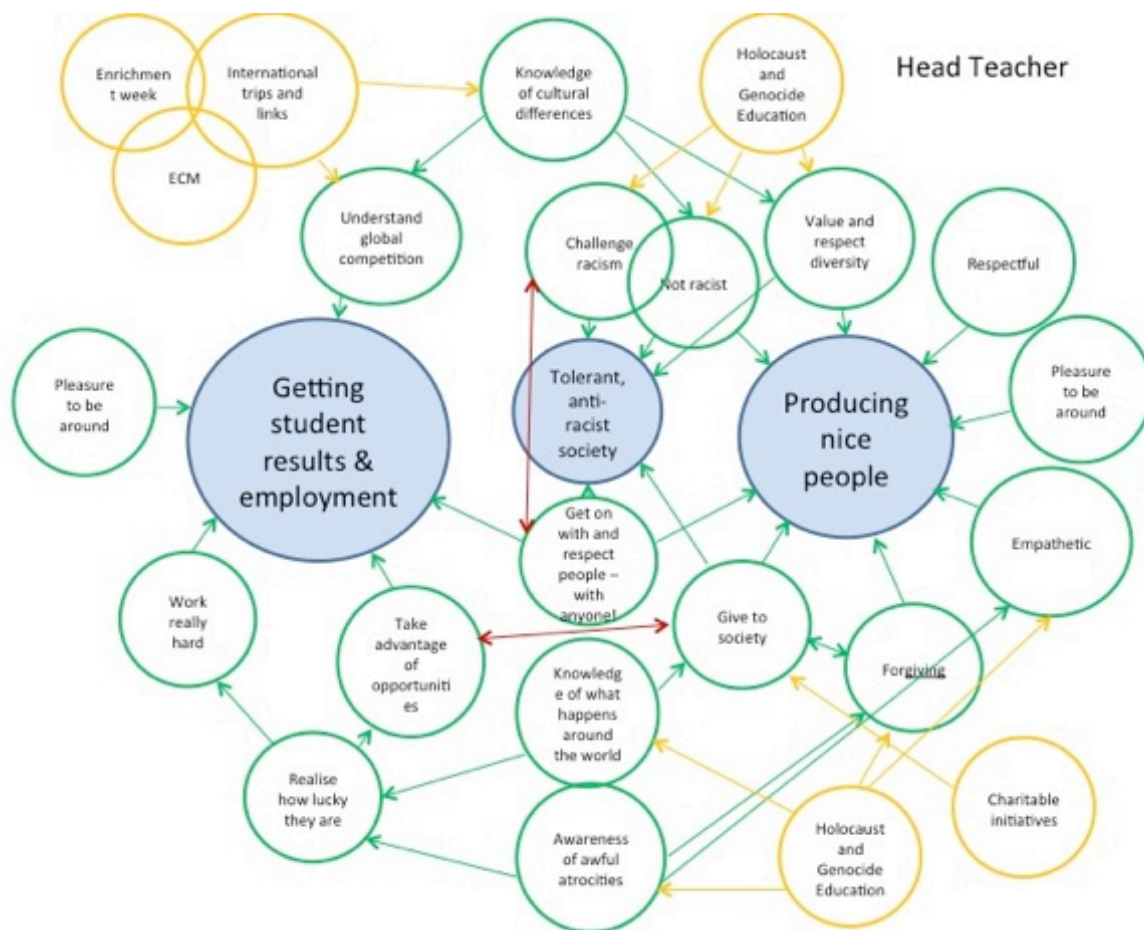


Figure 6: Example of a Bubble Map

Developing Themes, Interpretation and Writing

Each of the previous steps helped me to become familiar with my data and to see it in different ways. The final process of interpretation and writing is harder to describe. My first attempts at analysing my data and writing interim reports were mainly descriptive, consisting of lengthy accounts of the different GCE initiatives within Castle School. They were long and rambling with little direction. It was only after returning to my theoretical framework that I was able to start weaving interpretation through this analysis and making sense of the data. Others have written about needing a certain distance from fieldwork before they were able to analyse and write, and this was certainly the case for me.

It involved going beyond describing my data in order to draw out themes and to try to understand these in relation to the theory. As Davies (1999: 193-4) says,

...the process of ethnographic analysis involves a constant and hopefully creative tension between the necessary, if risky, processes of generalizing and explaining, and ethnographic knowledge of real people, their actions and interpretations gleaned through the experiences of field research.

It is about moving between the data and drawing upon theory, my own experience and assumptions to try to understand and make sense of it (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). In a sense it has been about moving *beyond* the specific data and to recognise what it is about this that it important or interesting (Beach 2008). In this process, I have drawn upon the framework of CGCE developed in chapter two, as well as drawing on elements of postcolonial theory and wider political economy. The process of writing has played an important role in my developing understanding and interpretation of the data (Richardson and St Pierre 2005), helping me to move from a mainly critical reading to one which appreciated the nuances and opportunities within the school.

At times during this process I experienced something verging on paralysis when I just could not write. Part of my paralysis stemmed from uncertainty about how I was going to represent Castle School in this thesis. As I have said before, I was concerned that my analysis should not come across as a critique of the school, but as an attempt to recognise the realities in which schools are working and understand the challenges and opportunities associated with CGCE. Where I have engaged in critique, I have been careful to situate this in terms of the limitations of wider societal discourses and practices rather than the shortcomings of any individuals within the school.

Nevertheless, my initial attempts at analysis and writing were very critical, picking out examples of stereotypical treatment of poverty and development within Geography, and criticising the dominance of the helping discourse within the school. This probably represented my own interests (and frustrations!) but it was not satisfying to write. I was aware of many creative examples of CGCE within the school but at that stage, I could not see how to incorporate them into my writing.

This raises questions of how I selected examples to include in my thesis. I have selected examples of lesson observations based on their ability to say something about CGCE, both the potential for developing aspects of criticality in the classroom (chapter 5) and the difficulties inherent in doing so (chapter 7). These examples are not necessarily representative of the entire practice within the school but they do demonstrate the range of practices and they do say something about CGCE. Getting to this point was partly about looking at my data in a different way and stepping outside of my own association of GCE as 'international development' focused. It was about thinking about the challenges and opportunities for GCE more generally and linking them back to ideas about the curriculum and whole-school approaches, rather than putting myself in the role of an evaluator of Castle School. As others have found (e.g. Richardson and St Pierre 2005), it was in the process of writing itself that the final interpretations fell into place.

Relationships and Ethical Responsibilities

Research is fundamentally concerned with producing 'valid' knowledge in a way that is ethical. Here validity is seen as relative since we can never be sure if an account is true due to our limited and partial ability to be able to access reality. For Chaiklin (*pers. comm.*, April 2013), doing research brings the researcher into three sets of relationships: with society, with the research community and with research participants, as illustrated in the diagram below. Each of these relations can be viewed from an ethical perspective. For example, as a member of a wider community of researchers with an interest in GCE, I recognise that I have responsibilities to work accurately and honestly in order to contribute towards the integrity of the field. I therefore include discussions about validity alongside discussions more traditionally found in an ethics section.

This research was authorised by the ethics committee at University of Bath. For a copy of my ethics protocol, please refer to appendix 10. This form was completed in March 2011, prior to the commencement of my fieldwork. However, as my research progressed, it became clear that each situation and ethical dilemma required on-going deliberation in order to weigh up the different options. This section therefore takes an ‘ethics in action’ approach, sharing the dilemmas which arose over the course of my research and how I have reconciled them. As the arrows on Chaiklin’s model below represent, sometimes relations with the research community come into tension with relations with participants.

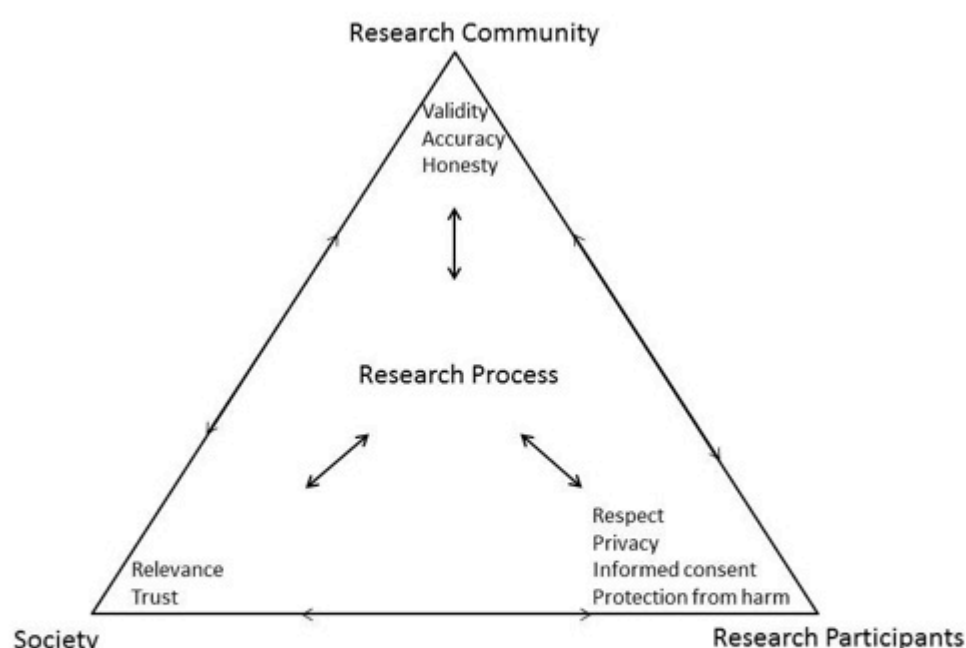


Figure 6: Research Relationships and Ethical Responsibilities based on Chaiklin (pers. comm. April 2013)

Relations with Society

“The issue of relevance of the findings to people outside the research community is a crucial one” (Hammersley 1992: 68). Hammersley (1992: 78) defines relevance in terms of “the importance of the research topic and the contribution to our knowledge made by the findings of the study”. This is especially important given my status as an ESRC-

funded student and therefore my responsibility towards the ESRC and ultimately the UK taxpayer. Given the rise of critiques about the practice of GCE in schools, it is important to explore the perspectives of people working in the field – teachers, students and parents – in order to understand their patterns of meaning-making around the practices of GCE. Only with a better understanding and explanation of current practice, will it be possible to start to offer better support to schools in applying some of the principles of CGCE including a questioning approach to knowledge, self-reflection, dialogue and responsible being and action.

Validity and Relations with the Research Community

Validity concerns the relationship between the conclusions and the realities being investigated (Maxwell 2013). For Hammersley (1992: 69), “an account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise”. We can never know with certainty how far an account is accurate because reality is multiple and ever-changing and our knowledge of it is always going to be limited. Assessing the validity of an account therefore always entails a judgement. Judgements can be made by assessing the plausibility and credibility of the conclusions in relation to the way the research was carried out (Hammersley 1992; Maxwell 2013).

Maxwell (2013) offers a number of strategies which may help researchers to avoid validity threats to their work, thereby helping to increase the credibility of the conclusions. These include: generating rich data and taking detailed notes documenting decision-making processes, respondent validation, examining discrepant evidence, and triangulating between different respondents and methods. I have used a combination of these approaches throughout my research. For example, my fieldnotes and journal entries constitute an audit trail with detailed descriptions of what happened and why. By using reflective interludes, I have also presented my thesis in a way which enables the reader to understand how decisions have been made, how ideas were developed and how difficulties were resolved (Flick 2007). Furthermore, my research design includes multiple participants (teachers, students and parents) and multiple methods (observation, interviews, document collection), which allow an element of triangulation or crystallisation between different respondents and methods (Richardson and St Pierre 2005).

I have also talked to others and asked for feedback on my emerging conclusions. As Carspecken (1996), notes, feedback provides an element of consensus which is part of ensuring credibility. Firstly, I have talked to my supervisors and peers about my conclusions, which has helped to identify assumptions and strengthen my argument. Secondly, I have asked participants to check specific details such as the school linking partnerships and activities. This provides an important way of ruling out any misinterpretations of what participants say and do (Maxwell 2013). However, I decided not to ask them to validate transcripts or detailed notes since this is time-consuming on their part and could be traumatic to re-read what they had said, in the same way that hearing your own voice is (Malone 2003).

Relations with Participants

This research would not have been possible without the involvement of a large number of participants including teachers, students and their parents. Throughout my research, I have endeavoured to treat participants with sensitivity and respect at all times, and I have always tended to err on the side of caution when making ethical decisions. Diener and Crandall (1978 in Bryman 2012) have identified four main areas for ethical consideration. These are: informed consent, deception, privacy and harm to participants. In the following discussion I explore each of these areas, although I have chosen to treat informed consent and deception as one area.

Informed Consent

In accordance with BERA (2011: 5) guidelines, consent was given voluntarily and participants were informed about the process in which they are to be engaged, “including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported”. They were also informed of their right to withdraw from the research at any time. Before any data collection began, consent was sought from the Head Teacher during my initial visit to the school in February 2011 (please see consent form in appendix 11). I did not provide any incentives, although I did offer to act as a volunteer classroom assistant during my time in school. As things progressed, some participants found that my research created a space for reflection and clarification of GCE. In their recent application for the International School Award (ISA), the school also mentioned my research as an example of a ‘community link’ with the University of Bath so they were also able to use my work in a way which benefited them.

Chapter Four

Gaining informed consent from teachers, students and their parents was less straightforward (Dunne *et al.* 2005; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Ethnographic research inevitably involves the researcher encountering large numbers of people and ensuring that everybody has the opportunity for informed consent is not practical (Bryman 2012). This research included teachers, students, and because the students were under 18 years of age, it also involved their parents. It also involved observations of people visiting the school including speakers, students and teachers from partner schools, and DEC workers. Gaining consent from all these people in advance would have been impossible, especially during the familiarisation stage of participant observation when I did not know who I would be observing. The school agreed that I should only seek consent from those involved in the more structured elements of my research – teachers whose classes I was observing or who took part in interviews, and students who participated in discussion groups and their parents.

Written consent was sought using the forms in appendix 12. These had the advantage of ensuring that participants were fully informed about the nature of the research (Bryman 2012), but in practice they were clumsy, sometimes interpreted as off-putting or ‘another tick box exercise’ (English Teacher, 28.03.12) by participants. The forms interrupted the natural flow of the relationship between myself and the participants. I also wondered how free teachers felt to refuse consent given that the Head Teacher had already given consent for me to be in the school and effectively signed them up for this (see Malone 2003). Whenever possible I therefore sought to tell people about my research on an informal spoken basis, explaining what I was doing and giving them the opportunity to ask me questions. If I felt that a participant was not comfortable, I did not push forward with my research. For example, one teacher preferred not to be observed because of his status as a trainee teacher. Most people seemed happy for me to be there and to ask questions and I also carried out note-taking in the school which served to remind participants of my role as a researcher Carspecken (1996) suggests.

Privacy

In most research, privacy is ensured through the confidential and anonymous treatment of participants’ data (e.g. BERA 2011; Walford 2005). Usually this means storing data securely and protecting participant identities in any research outputs using pseudonyms. This seemed straight-forward when I promised privacy on my

informed consent forms. However, it was not until I started my research that I began to appreciate the difficulties associated with offering anonymity. Anonymity is much more complex than using pseudonyms, as Walford (2005: 84) explains:

we do not name the person or research site involved but, in research, it is usually extended to mean that we do not include information about any individual or research site that will enable that individual or research site to be identified by others.

However, in the case of my research, it was the specific context of the school in relation to GCE that I was trying to understand. There are a number of key features about the school and local community which would potentially give away the identity of my fieldsite, as well as a number of individual teachers within the school. Yet I worried that leaving these details out would render an ethnographic account inaccurate (and therefore falling short of my responsibilities to the research community) or meaningless (and therefore failing to produce meaningful research for society). This is a dilemma that has been documented by Nespor (2000) who raises the question: how can you anonymise a school or a place and still provide specific context?

I began to question whether it was ethical for me to offer anonymity in the first place and wondered whether it was really protecting me, the researcher, more than it was protecting my participants. In a way, writing about a school using a pseudonym does offer a screen behind which to hide. Partway through my fieldwork I therefore met with the Head Teacher at Castle School to talk about my concerns and the difficulties I was experiencing in relation to my promise to ensure anonymity. He agreed for me to use the name of the school in my writing, "as long as it is not going to reflect badly on the school. This put me in a further dilemma. Although I was not intending to write a critique of the school, I did not feel I could offer a guarantee that my work would not be interpreted as critical by the school. I also worried that revealing the name of the school would necessarily reveal the identity of the Head Teacher and other key teaching staff within the school. After much deliberation, I have chosen to keep the identity of the school anonymous using Castle School as a pseudonym.

Protection from harm

In line with ethical guidelines (e.g. BERA, ESRC, BPS), I was committed to researching respectfully and avoiding potential risks to the well-being, mental health, dignity and integrity of participants. While involving very minimal risk of physical harm to

Chapter Four

participants, GCE does concern potentially controversial and emotive issues including poverty, genocide, and climate change. In some cases, talking about these issues could lead to feelings of anger, upset or guilt for participants. Learning about and reflecting upon global issues and one's own place in relation to them has been described as a "potentially traumatic" activity (Hicks and Bord 2001).

During my fieldwork I became aware that some of my questions caused some participants to feel a level of discomfort or minor embarrassment, although not in the way that Hicks and Bord (2001) describe. For example, when asking what makes this school a global school in a local community, one teacher replied, "why are you asking me big questions like that?", and then quickly changed the subject (Science Teacher, 11.05.12). On another occasion a teacher asked me what I was writing in my notebook during an observation (29.06.11). These were examples of discomfort, potentially because they felt uncertain about GCE and felt threatened by my presence and questioning. However, I reconciled this issue using The British Psychological Society ethical guidelines which state that "participants should not be exposed to risks greater than or additional to those to which they are exposed in their normal lifestyles" (British Psychological Society 2010: 11). The questions I was asking and the observations I was making were the kinds of things that teachers and students might realistically come across in their everyday lives, for example, during a routine observation or a discussion at a staff meeting. I continued to ask these questions but as sensitively and respectfully as I could. Other participants commented that my questions were sometimes (in a small way) helpful and enjoyable. As I thanked the Head Teacher for his time at the end of our formal interview, he responded, "It's a pleasure. It always is if you can talk things through. Just firms things up. It's always quite good to have to justify and talk about things. Helps clarify things" (Head Teacher, 29.06.12). Similarly, the IE Co-ordinator commented that, "it's really good for me to reflect on international learning in the school" (26.04.12). These comments helped to justify my presence in the school.

Another issue that arose during fieldwork was the extent to which I would intervene in situations. This area of research ethics often remains unacknowledged and called for decisions to be made on the spot depending on the circumstances (Dennis 2009). As described above, I was not seen as a qualified teacher by the students, and they often 'tested' this out by seeing how far they could push the rules in front of me. For example, during one tutor time, a Y9 student ate a chocolate bar in the science lab

while the teacher was out of the room – something which was forbidden. I did not want to put myself in a ‘teacher’ role in case this altered my relationship with the students, so, on this occasion, concluding that little harm would come to the student, I did nothing. On another occasion two boys were teasing another. Given the potential for their actions to cause upset, I decided to intervene and tell them they were being unkind.

However, the main issue I have faced in terms of harm concerns the role of critique in my work, particularly given the critical framework I am using (see chapter two). Problems might arise if teachers perceive my findings as a criticism of their work. I have tried to frame my findings in terms of challenges for wider society, rather than any direct criticism of the school. My aim was to *understand* the difficulties and challenges present in the school rather than simply criticise. Thus, rather than ‘criticising’ individual teachers, I have attempted to situate any critique in terms of wider societal discourses and realities. As Sims-Schouten *et al.* (2007: 103-4) say, “we consider this contextualising of participants’ talk as an ethical stance, in the sense that analysing participants’ talk without considering their material existence does not always do justice to the participants’ lived experience”. I have not yet shared my findings with participants but this is something I intend to do.

Conclusion

This chapter has explained why ethnography provided a flexible approach for studying the meanings that participants ascribe to GCE in context. By getting to know participants over an extended period of time and participating in everyday life at the school, I was able to gain an insight into the multiple realities of GCE at Castle School in a way which moves beyond rhetoric or normative statements and sees GCE in relationship to the wider context and functions of the school. Although critics point to ethnography’s limited potential for empirical generalisability (Dillon and Reid 2004; Stake 2000), this chapter has shown how the in-depth focus on one school is what gives this research its strength and originality. Rather than claiming empirical generalisability, this research aims to understand GCE in the context of one particular school. In doing so it offers low- and middle-range theoretical insights which may well be applicable elsewhere. O’Reilly (2009: 185) writes that, “ethnographies gain value and significance as they meet other accounts of similar (or the same) settings and contribute to a plausible, collective account”. Throughout my analysis, I point to other

Chapter Four

research which supports the interpretations I am making. I have also provided detailed descriptions which I hope will enable readers to assess credibility by comparing to their own experience (Hammersley 1990 in Dunne, Pryor, and Yates 2005).

This chapter has described in detail how the data informing this thesis were generated and analysed and the relationships that were formed in the process. As far as possible, I have written myself into this account, aiming to make explicit how decisions were made and why. The chapters that follow present an analysis of my data. Chapter five focuses on the spaces and forms of GCE at Castle School, chapter six explores the instrumental agendas of GCE in relation to the wider context of the school, and chapter seven draws out a series of practical and ethical challenges associated with CGCE.

CHAPTER FIVE

SPACES OF CRITICAL GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

EDUCATION AT CASTLE SCHOOL

Introduction

This chapter paints a detailed picture of GCE at Castle School, focusing on the practices which, for teachers, students and parents, make this school a 'global school in a local community'. It illustrates uncertainty, particularly in the terminology surrounding GCE, amongst teachers, students and parents, and the wide range of initiatives associated with GCE. These are broad and wide-ranging, including international linking, charitable giving, enrichment week, ASDAN award programmes, a Holocaust and Genocide education programme (HGP), and subject areas. The chapter uses a series of short vignettes constructed out of fieldnotes in order to give the reader a sense for how these initiatives took place in the school. Amongst the varied practice, I point to opportunities for criticality using the framework developed in chapter two. These opportunities were particularly evident in those initiatives grounded in the formal curriculum.

However, the relationship between GCE and the formal curriculum is ambiguous and contradictory. On the one hand, 'GCE' is seen as separate from what school is perceived to be *really* about and confines GCE activities to marginal spaces within the school including registration time, collapsed timetable days and extra-curricular time, yet there is also a push to embed GCE within the school curriculum. While some teachers were able to use the curriculum creatively in order to create space for teaching and learning about global issues such as conflict and genocide, or the environment, others saw the curriculum as a barrier to GCE. Given the uncertainty surrounding GCE, I question its utility as an umbrella term within schools, as it seems to create confusion and emptiness in contrast to the formal curriculum.

In Search of GCE at Castle School

"The global thing, you know, that's where I come unstuck. There's not a whole amount of scope is there within the school for the global bit. The community bit I can grasp"

Chapter Five

(Learning Mentor, 15.03.12). On asking what makes this school a global school in a local community, this kind of response was common amongst teachers, students and their parents. During conversations and interviews, teachers made the following comments in response to questions about being a global school in a local community: “is that what you want to hear?” (Music Teacher, 24.05.12), or “why are you asking me big questions like that?!” (Science Teacher, 11.05.12), and “I feel like I just rambled and didn’t really know what I was talking about” (English Teacher, 30.05.12). These comments suggest uncertainty and hesitancy surrounding GCE. Faced with my questions, some teaching staff changed the subject and talked to me about other concerns, others suggested I might like to talk to someone else in the school community who might be able to help me with my research.

CB: I wanted to ask you what you think it means to be a global school in a local community

T: Do you know, I don’t actually know. I really haven’t thought about it much

CB: That’s totally fine. I’m not expecting you to have thought about it and for me I’m just interested to talk to a range of people in school to understand what’s going on from a range of perspectives.

T: I don’t know whether I’m going to be that useful to you.

CB: Don’t worry.

T: Are you sure? Do you want to go and talk to somebody who might be more interesting?

(Music Teacher, 24.05.12)

One teacher elaborated on her concerns:

I do feel like I would like to know more about what global learning actually means, because the phrase to me just means learning about the world... Learning about the world in what sense? Is that learning about the global village or learning about global issues or what? ... I think that’s what it is. It’s not really knowing what the aim of...ok we’re a global school, let’s focus on global learning, but what do the government want us to get out of this? What do we want to get out of this? And that’s the bit that I’m a bit fuzzy on. It’s all very well saying we have students visiting from abroad or we take students there, or we do this or we do that. Ok. But why?... I don’t think we’re particularly clear on how we’re doing that or why we’re doing that or whether we’re supposed to be doing it (English Teacher, 30.05.12).

She raises a number of questions about what GCE means, who is setting the agenda, and what the school hopes to achieve by engaging in linking activities. I will return to some of these questions in chapter six. The point here is to illustrate the lack of clarity surrounding GCE.

This uncertainty amongst teachers comes in contrast to previous research. Although Rapoport (2010) writing about the Indiana, US context, found that teachers are unfamiliar with the concept of global citizenship, Davies *et al.* (2005: 71) found that, although often lacking confidence, most teachers had their own ideas about what GCE was meant to be. They report only two teachers in their study who found the concept unclear or too complicated. However, it is important to note that their study captured the views of two teachers per school in 12 schools across the midlands. Of these, one teacher in each school was the citizenship co-ordinator who would probably have given more prior consideration to the concept of GCE. Similarly, research by Ipsos Mori (2009) with staff members from 3,991 schools does not point to any confusion or uncertainty with the concept of global learning or GCE. In contrast, this in-depth study at Castle School suggests that, beyond the articulacy of the senior leadership team (SLT), GCE was regarded as an abstract and confusing term by the wider teaching staff at Castle School.

Although several terms were used to talk about GCE in the school including international education (IE), global citizenship education (GCE) and global learning (GL), the Head Teacher explained to me that, “It’s all much of a muchness. When I talk about global learning or international I’m talking about the same thing really” (Head Teacher, 29.06.12). Uncertainty even persisted when I used the school’s tagline, a global school in a local community, which was familiar to all members of the school community. This uncertainty was, at least in part, associated with the language and concepts surrounding GCE. Concepts of ‘global’ and ‘global citizenship’ are relatively intangible, abstract ideas, which are difficult to grasp.

In the school community there were two dominant understandings of ‘global’: global in the sense of holistic or all-encompassing, for example as the Head Teacher explained, for him GCE is a broad concept covering “a whole raft of things” (Head Teacher, 29.06.12); and global in the sense of being associated with other countries, cultures and places – something ‘out there’ to be contrasted with the local, the national or the ‘here’. For example, when I introduced my research, one teacher said,

Chapter Five

“so it that anything that’s not UK then?” (English Teacher, 29.06.11). Although scholars advocate for a more interconnected understanding of local and global where global and local are co-constructed as two sides of the same coin (Escobar 2001; Massey 2005), this research suggests that the commonsensical association of global with abstract ‘space’ and distance is strong.

This uncertainty was not only restricted to teachers. Comments by students and parents also suggest that GCE was not something they had necessarily thought much about. For example, many students commented that they did not know about or understand what was meant by being a global school in a local community and that global citizenship was not a topic covered in school before. “Nobody ever tells us what it [being a global school in a local community] means” (Fieldnotes, Y9 student, 16.05.12), global citizenship is a “topic not really covered in school before” (Y9 student, 16.07.12), “I don’t know what it [global citizenship] means” (Y9 student, 16.07.12), and “I don’t understand the idea of global citizenship” (Y9 student, 16.07.12). This is an excerpt from a Y9 student discussion group where a group of four girls express their confusion around the concept of being a global citizen.

P1: Um, who is a global citizen?

P2: I don’t know. It depends. I really don’t know what it means.

P1: I don’t know what it means.

P3: Well, doesn’t it just mean that you’re someone on the world?

P2: No

P3: Belonging to somewhere?”

(Y9 group discussion, 16.07.12)

Similarly, beyond being able to talk about the initiatives associated with GCE within the school, all the parents I spoke to expressed uncertainty and doubt about the school’s approach to being a global school in a local community. For example, “I suppose I haven’t really thought about it in that great a detail, like the global side of it, until you’ve got in touch” (Parent Three, 09.05.12). Another parent kept asking, “I don’t know, is that the sort of thing you mean?” (Parent One, 25.04.12). While a third parent questioned what the school was trying to do with GCE, “Is it global? It’s not global. Is it? ... I never see that really in terms of their learning process. There’s the occasional

bits of...I mean she's been off on a trip to Canada for instance" (Parent Two, 03.05.12). Finally, the fourth parent said that she would like to have some more information about what the school is trying to achieve:

I have to say I don't feel I know enough about it or how the school's approaching it. I mean it's on the headed notepaper. It comes back saying, you know, a global school in a local community or whatever it is, but I don't really know. I think probably most people wouldn't know what they're trying to achieve so it would be nice to have a bit more information on that (Parent Four, 13.06.12).

In general, parents were quite sceptical of idea of being a global school in a local community, seeing it as a means for the school to maintain a good reputation.

However, despite these uncertainties about what GCE is or what it means, GCE was associated with a wide range of practices and initiatives at Castle School. These include: international linking, charitable giving, enrichment week, ASDAN award programmes, Holocaust and Genocide Education programme, and, somewhat ambiguously, the formal curriculum. It is to these practices and spaces that I turn in the following section. Each initiative is illustrated using a short vignette and analysed with reference to the framework of CGCE proposed in chapter two and the concepts of knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action. I argue that those initiatives and practices that are related to the formal curriculum including the Holocaust and Genocide Programme (HGP) and formal subject areas demonstrate greater potential for criticality than the whole-school initiatives such as enrichment week, charitable giving and ASDAN.

GCE Initiatives

International Linking

On asking what makes Castle School a global school in a local community, the most common response from teachers, students and parents alike referred to the school's international links. The following quotes were typical:

I think the first thing is probably our international links (R.E. Teacher, 22.06.12)

Chapter Five

I know that [Castle School] has got lots of contacts around the world, like with Sweden, the USA, and I think it's done trips to China (Parent Four, 13.06.12).

International links are a popular form of activity associated with GCE (Davies *et al.* 2005; Hunt 2012; Marshall 2007b) and write-ups about Castle School's linking activities featured regularly in the school newsletter and local parish magazine which made them very visible to teachers, students and the wider community. During the fieldwork period between 2011 and 2012, Castle School was engaged in activities associated with ten links with countries including USA, Sweden, Singapore, China, South Africa, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Poland, Germany, France, The Netherlands and Canada. At the time there was uncertainty within the school about the future of government funding for linking activities. The officer for international development within the local authority had recently lost his job, meaning that there was less support available to the school with filling out applications for linking activities. Nevertheless, Castle School had grants from the British Council's Connecting Classrooms programme and Comenius for their cluster link with Bangladesh and e-twinning programmes respectively. Castle School's linking activities are summarised in table 5 below.

Table 5: Summary of Active School Linking Activities

Country	Department	Year established	Organisation/Origin	Activities
Washington, USA	History/Politics	2011	Personal contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Annual visit to Washington for History and Politics Sixth Form students in February since 2011 Annual hosting of USA students since June 2011
Boras, Sweden	IB	2011	Personal contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hosting a visit from sixth form students in March 2012 and March 2011
Singapore	Drama/Music/English	2011	British Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hosted two-day visit by Singaporean students in November 2011 Hosted one-day visit by Singaporean students in May 2012
Nanhai, China	Science	2010	British Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Y10 students visited Nanhai in April 2010 Chinese students visited Castle School in February 2011
Cape Town, South Africa	Geography	2010	AfriTwin (SA company) and British Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Geography teacher visited and taught at the SA school in 2010/2011 Hosted visit from SA school (Maths/Science) teacher in 2011 International Group students prepared PowerPoint slides to send to SA school in May 2012
Bangladesh	Maths	November 2011	Local DEC and British Council	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> International Co-ordinator attended an introductory training session about the Bangladesh cluster organised by the local DEC in November 2011 Introductory letter sent to Bangladeshi school in November 2011

Spaces of Global Citizenship Education at Castle School

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Email communication between teachers
Afghanistan	N/A	2011	Afghan Connect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Representative from NGO Afghanistan Connection came to talk to sixth form students in February 2011.
eTwinning with Poland, Germany, France, Netherlands	Geography and Social Sciences	2012	E-twinning, Comenius, EU programme for schools	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two teachers attended eTwinning conference in Aachen in March 2012 Two projects were established: Appearance and Reality for Y10 Sociology students with France and Poland Getting to Know You for Y7 Geography students with Germany and the Netherlands
Quebec, Canada	MFL	2011	Personal Contact	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two teachers visited Quebec in October 2011 Planned trip for students in October 2012 cancelled due to lack of student interest and cost Return visit of Canadian students planned for March 2013

Although Castle School had no official policy on linking, they were working towards having one international link per department with the aim that each link would have a particular thematic focus which should be “curriculum based and related” (IE Co-ordinator Job description, November 2011). For Castle School, this emphasis on a shared curriculum focus emphasised the ideal of ‘mutual learning’ within the linking relationship rather than a fundraising/giving model (Martin and Wyness 2013). The school supports several charitable initiatives (see below) but none of their linking relationships included a fundraising component. Most of the links were relatively new having been established in 2010 or 2011 and overseen by the IE Co-ordinator and Assistant Head. This growth in linking reflects a change of senior leadership at this time for whom linking became a priority.

As table 5 shows, the school’s international links took a number of different forms including trips abroad, hosting visits from partner schools, electronic forums, and sharing pieces of work with partner schools. Many of these activities were extra-curricular and were therefore only available to small groups of students based on academic ability or financial situation. However, there was also a push to incorporate linking activities into the curriculum in order to make them more inclusive and accessible to all. I will return to the relationship between GCE and the formal curriculum later in this chapter. Those links which were most active during the fieldwork period included the links with USA, Sweden and Singapore. Other links were much more fleeting due to difficulties with communication and unequal expectations which will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven.

The following section provides a detailed vignette of one of these linking activities, a day-long visit from Castle School’s Singaporean partner school in May 2012. The

Chapter Five

description is based upon fieldnotes taken during participant observation of meetings in preparation for the visit, the visit itself, as well as an interview with the teacher who led the visit and analysis of Castle School's own student feedback sheets. It is included to give an insight into the nature of linking activities in practice and the decisions surrounding the format of the day.

Singaporean Partner School Visit⁸

We entered the drama studio where the Drama teacher had already turned up the stage lights for special effect. The 35 girls from the link school in Singapore sat quietly in a circle on the floor. 14 girls from Castle School who had been specially chosen to help out with the day, selected on the basis of their ability to get on with others, to talk and communicate, and having worked with the Singaporean students last year, sat on chairs at the edge of the room, some of them sipping coffee from paper take-out cups. For Castle School, the aim of the day was to give the Singaporean students a taster of drama and music, subjects which are not traditionally part of their school day back home in Singapore. The Singaporean teacher emphasised empathy, tolerance, understanding and sharing, reminding the girls that they too have something to share.

The Jubilee-themed day was planned by Castle School and consisted of a special programme of drama, music and poetry activities. Starting with drama, the Singaporean students were split into groups of five, each working with two British students. After some time to chat, mostly comparing school systems, the Singaporean students were asked to compose a short scene about their impressions of Britain. The British students were not part of the scenes, but took on the role of helpers. For some this amounted to helping out with props, while others played a more directive role, giving ideas and suggestions as to what the Singaporean students could do. The scenes were well thought out with little elements of humour worked in: one group mimed the sights of London complete with pigeons, and another group did a very clever mime of a typical day including the tube ride to work! As the day progressed, the British and Singaporean students began to interact more, and by the end they were swapping facebook details and taking photographs together. The day ended with a production by the Singaporean students and a short speech from Castle School's Head Teacher who said he was proud to be an international school, which welcomes people of all

⁸ Constructed from fieldnotes, observations and interview conversations

nationalities and backgrounds. The Singaporean teacher finished with thanks and promises of a return visit to Singapore were made.

This vignette illustrates one example of school linking within Castle School. When I asked the British and Singaporean students how they had found the day, there was consensus that they had enjoyed themselves and been able to appreciate differences between their cultures. For the British students these differences centred around differences in food, while for the Singaporean students, they centred upon the school system and the greater freedom of speech and fluidity of structure within the British system (Fieldnotes, 25.05.12). The following comment was made by a Singaporean student on her feedback form:

I am amazed at the constant encouragement from teachers for active participation in class. There is no conformity, rigidity or structure in lessons. Everything is free-flowing, mind-refreshing and invigorating. I will truly cherish these learning experiences (Singaporean student, 25.05.12)

While the students on both sides of the link clearly took something from the day, I would argue that the day had been designed to focus specifically on drama, music and poetry activities to be *different* for the Singaporean students. Rather than attending regular lessons, the Singaporean students spent much of the day in the drama studio doing creative group work. This might have acted to give an inflated impression of the fluidity and openness of the British educational system. In this sense it may have detracted from the element of uncertainty in learning from the Other as discussed in chapter two (Bruce 2013; Todd 2003).

Furthermore, this visit was a one-off event, albeit one made for the second consecutive year by the Singaporean school. Students and teachers from Castle School had not yet made a return visit. In this sense, the link was more of a connection rather than an on-going, two-way partnership as it had not been given chance to develop and deepen (Leonard 2012). The students took away mostly superficial and neutral differences between the cultures (see Richardson 2008a and 2008b in Eidoo *et al.* 2011: 66) such as food, school and temperament rather than more complex understandings of the students' multiple and complex identities (Banks 2008).

Chapter Five

Charitable Giving

As well as linking, the school also supports several charities, including local, national and international organisations, as well as emergency relief appeals following the Japanese tsunami and Haiti earthquake. It describes itself as “promoting a strong charity ethos” (School Prospectus, 2011) and for many members of the school community, particularly students, but also teachers and parents, it is the charity work which makes the school a global school. These kinds of responses were common:

We help quite a lot of charities like we help Water for Malawi quite a lot and we do different events and non-school uniform days and people pay a pound and the money goes to charity (Y9 student, 16.03.12).

I think you'll see...we've always had a big global influence, a lot of work with charities and that kind of thing (HGP Co-ordinator, 23.05.11.)

They do a lot of charity work....these are the poor people who need the money, there are the people who, a terrible tragedy happened so we're doing fundraising, so there's a good community spirit evolving (Parent One, 25.04.12).

Approximately one fundraising event is held every half term, co-ordinated by a science teacher with responsibility for the school's charitable initiatives. Most fundraising events consisted of whole-school themed non-uniform days where students gave a pound to wear their own clothes for the day, but also cake sales, sponsored runs and collections of food and Christmas sales. According to the annual governors' report, over £8,000 was raised for “various good causes locally, nationally and internationally” in the academic year 2011-2012. The table below shows those fundraising activities that were held during the fieldwork period. As the fieldwork period drew to a close, the school also launched a new appeal to raise money to build a school in Burma.

Table 6: Summary of Charitable Events

Date	Event	Charity	Activity	Amount raised
07.04.11	J Day	Japanese tsunami relief	Non-uniform day with 'J' theme, stalls	£2,070
27.05.11	Green Day	NSPCC and ChildLine	Non-uniform day with 'green' theme	£400
13.10.11	Pink Day	Breast Cancer Research	Non-uniform day with 'pink' theme	£2,000
Nov 2011	Harvest	Elderly people in local community	Y10 collection	N/A
Dec 2011	Romanian Shoebox Appeal	The Rotary Club	Y7 put together shoeboxes for children in Eastern Europe	N/A

Spaces of Global Citizenship Education at Castle School

Dec 2011	Christmas market	Water for Malawi – paid for 5 girls to go to secondary school	Y7-9 Christmas market	unknown
Feb 2012	Collection and cake baking	The Filling Station, Homeless Project	Collection of unwanted soap-based Christmas presents and cake baking	N/A
10.02.12	Non-uniform day	Water for Malawi		Approx. £2000
22.03.12	Sport Relief Mile	Sport Relief	Sponsored mile	Approx. £500
01.06.12	Red and Green Day	CRY and NSPCC	Non-uniform day with 'red and green' theme	£1,600

The table demonstrates the range of events and appeals held in the school, which often took the form of a non-uniform day such as Pink Day in November 2011. These days often took on a celebratory atmosphere. The following vignette is constructed from fieldnotes and the school newsletter write-up.

Pink Day

Everyone came dressed in various shades of pink to raise money for breast cancer awareness. Many students came dressed in pyjamas and all-in-ones and some of the male teachers even wore pink bridesmaids dresses, to the amusement of many students. Extra money was raised by selling pink badges, iPhone cases and cupcakes that had been donated. The Head of Year started assembly by saying how nice it was to see everyone looking so colourful. However, he reminded the students that “it’s only your clothes that are different today, not your behaviour”. He told them that today is not about them. It is not about wearing something pink but about raising money for breast cancer and helping those fighting horrible illnesses.

Later, in lessons there was a lot of laughter and a silly mood with students fiddling with pink wigs and scarves and parading around in giant baby grows. The following month, the school newsletter reported that the day had raised over £2,200, congratulating everyone on their work, especially those teachers who had organised the day.

While it might seem strange to be critical of charity, this vignette demonstrates how the emphasis was on having fun and wearing funny clothes rather than on the issue of breast cancer. This can be seen as an example of what Bryan and Bracken (2011: 15) refer to as the “fundraising, fasting, having fun” approach, despite the Head of Year’s remark that the day was not about the students. Furthermore, the link with

Chapter Five

consumerism went unchallenged – the idea that by buying a badge or an i-phone case you can help to fight breast cancer is not clear cut.

However, the charity which was most talked about in relation to GCE was Water for Malawi⁹. The school has worked with Water for Malawi since 2009, raising in the region of £10,000 for the charity in this time. Water for Malawi is a small Irish international development organisation founded in 2005 and run by volunteers. It works with communities in Northern Malawi, providing safe access to clean drinking water and other services including pre-schools, adult education and sustainable farming for the rural poor. Water for Malawi strive for a micro bottom-up approach, working with small groups of Malawian people, especially women, and empowering them to empower themselves. According to their website, their approach is to support communities with their own plans.

Castle School chose to work with Water for Malawi because of a personal family contact with the charity's founders. Having a personal contact with a small charity means that the school receive regular updates, enabling the students to see where and how their money is being spent. Castle School's charity co-ordinator was also able to request fundraising targets for the students to help in their fundraising efforts. For example, Water for Malawi estimate that it costs £1 to provide water for one person for life. Another consideration was the fact that 100% of public donations go to the projects in Malawi and the only paid employees of the charity are Malawians. These considerations are common within fundraising campaigns. However, although the students spoke passionately about the charity, they were not encouraged to discuss or debate issues of poverty/inequality or to consider alternative forms of action. In this sense, the action of fundraising is not intentional in the sense that Jensen and Schnack (2006) explain. Instead, a tradition of supporting charities has developed and students follow on obediently (Bryan and Bracken 2011).

Much has already been written on the problems with school fundraising so I will not expand on this issue here but will return to pick up on the strength of the moral agenda surrounding charitable giving and the tensions between supporting student wellbeing/empowering students and encouraging responsible action in chapter six.

⁹ The name of the charity has been changed to protect the identity of the charity and the school.

Enrichment Week

A further example of GCE comes from enrichment week. At the end of the summer term, Castle School holds an annual enrichment week with a collapsed timetable and activities focused on a particular theme, which “almost always has some sort of international dimension” (Head Teacher, 29.06.12). Themes over the past three years focused on ‘global’ topics including: China, community (focusing on the different counties that make up the UK), and Olternative Olympics. During these weeks, students work in tutor group teams to complete a number of challenges to gain points. At the end of the week, the best tutor group wins. In 2012 each tutor group was assigned a country, the aim being “to expose students to different countries and their cultures, whilst embracing the 2012 Olympic theme” (School Website, October 2013). This was done through a number of tasks set centrally by the SLT such as designing a mosaic using the flag and other famous symbols from your country, making a country mascot and a country Mr or Mrs Potato Head, baking cupcakes using the shapes and symbols from your country, putting together a dance or gym routine, performing the national anthem of your country, and taking part in sports activities. Points were awarded for creativity, originality and comedy value.

Enrichment week can be seen as a celebratory approach towards difference in which again, the emphasis was on having fun. In order to celebrate diverse cultures, students were given the opportunity to explore ‘typical’ symbols, foods and dance and music from a particularly country. However, as Martin (2012) points out, this can have the unintended effect of oversimplifying complex cultures and reducing societies to single story stereotypes. This can “exoticise difference as something quaint, charming or curious, and so exaggerate the distance between self and other” (Martin 2012: 5-6) rather than encouraging interaction, discussion and dialogue of the sort described in chapter two.

Along similar lines, several staff expressed concerns with stereotyping during enrichment week, with the China week being described as “the most culturally insensitive thing I’ve ever seen” (English Teacher, 21.03.12) with “stereotypes everywhere” (History Teacher, 24.05.11). In 2012, staff questioned how much value there was in designing a Greek Mr and Mrs Potato Head (DT Teacher, 04.07.12) and others expressed discomfort in having to play around with the national anthems of different countries (History Teacher, 04.07.12). By way of example, the students in one

Chapter Five

tutor group wanted to sing the lyrics of the Ethiopian national anthem in Amharic (the Ethiopian mother-tongue) because they would get more points for doing it in the original language. However, neither staff nor students nor I had any idea how to pronounce the lyrics or what they meant (Fieldnotes, 04.07.12). The cultural learning arising from this activity was therefore questionable and the emphasis was on point-scoring and winning the competition.

There was also a sense of boredom and frustration amongst both staff and students. By the second day of enrichment week the students had already begun to complete the week's tasks and had run out of things to do. Most classes I visited were watching videos (Fieldnotes, 04.07.12). Thus, although enrichment week represented a week-long space within a busy school year, the open goal of learning about other cultures led to a lack of direction and this vacuum was filled with cultural stereotypes. One teacher made the following comment in relation to a similar collapsed timetable day earlier in the year:

We had our collapsed-timetable day yesterday and myself and my tutor group were doing something on the special Olympics, the purpose of which I was slightly unclear of. We were given a task, we were sort of to research German culture and German traditions, and the exchange between those two cultures and what could happen. And obviously, you know, although there was some merit in it to a certain extent, I'm not quite sure what that merit was. It didn't seem to have any particular purpose. It was just sort of pick a country, do something arbitrary with it and not even worry where it's going...It was literally look at a part of the world and there wasn't actually any meaning to it whatsoever, and that's my contention with most of the global and international kind of education that we do. It just seems to be find out about it on the surface without thinking what the relevance is of any of it to yourself and what you do in this world (English Teacher, 28.03.12)

Here he points to the lack of purpose and direction. Biesta's (2009) critique of the over-emphasis on 'learning' is pertinent here. He sees learning as an empty notion, devoid of content or purpose. "It denotes processes and activities but is open – if not empty – with regard to content and direction" (Biesta 2009: 39). As Gilbert (2005), argues, learning is always about learning something and it is important what that something is. In enrichment week there did not seem to be much emphasis on content, and while this can sometimes be a good thing, leading to unexpected learning outcomes, in this case it seemed to result in emptiness.

Holocaust and Genocide Education Programme (HGP)

The clearest thematic focus for GCE in the school came from the Holocaust and Genocide Education Programme (HGP). This was an extensive programme which had been developed over the last four years by a highly motivated and dedicated R.E. teacher. Since 2009 when it started as a one-off Holocaust Day event for Y9 students, the HGP grew into a full programme of activities and events, targeted mostly at Y9 students and the sixth form. In covering the Holocaust and subsequent genocides in Bosnia, Rwanda and Darfur, the programme offered opportunities for students to grapple with issues of prejudice, conflict, international law, justice and human rights. The goals of the HGP included creating a tolerant, anti-prejudiced society where difference and diversity is appreciated and celebrated. This was one of the expressed aims of the school's HGP.

These are basically our overall aims, to tackle prejudice, intolerance, extremism, denial and stereotypes, to celebrate diversity, dignity and the importance of human rights, and to encourage our students to be responsible, informed, empathetic and engaged global citizens of the future (HGP Co-ordinator, Parent Information Evening, 03.10.12).

Overcoming initial resistance under the leadership of the previous Head, the HGP Co-ordinator worked hard to gain the support of a staff working group consisting of members of the SLT, teachers and learning mentors in order to develop and implement the programme. She is incredibly knowledgeable, having completed a PhD on the topic of Holocaust denial, and carries out teacher training on Holocaust education at local universities. The Head Teacher was very supportive, having taken part in the Lessons from Auschwitz (LFA) project and read several books associated with the Holocaust. The school was recognised as a beacon school by the Institute of Education (IOE) at the University of London for its efforts in Holocaust education and had the support of numerous high-profile individuals and organisations.

The themes of prejudice, conflict, international law, justice and human rights were covered in a number of ways, which together formed an expansive Holocaust and Genocide Programme:

- schemes of work in History, R.E., Drama and English
- collapsed timetable days where students focus on the Holocaust or genocides in Bosnia and Rwanda

Chapter Five

- speaker visits including Holocaust/genocide survivors, war journalists/correspondents, representatives from charities, authors, and politicians
- the Lessons from Auschwitz (LFA) project run by the Holocaust Educational Trust (HET) for two sixth form students to participate in a visit to Auschwitz and share their experiences with fellow students on their return
- extra-curricular opportunities including a reading group (Y9-13)
- community events including talks and memorial evenings

There is not space to detail all of these activities here. However, the following vignette provides an insight into the HGP. It comes from an annual collapsed timetable day for Y9 based around the 2012 Holocaust Memorial Day (HMD) theme of Speak Up, Speak Out. This day had been prepped in History and RE lessons in the run up to the collapsed timetable day.

Y9 Holocaust Day

The students filed into the assembly hall in silence, waiting for their Head of Year and the HGP Co-ordinator to introduce this long-anticipated day. Back in their registration rooms, the students had already been told that the aim of the day was a commitment to individual choices and speaking up, speaking out, or as one student put it, “standing up for what you believe”. The Holocaust and Genocide Programme Co-ordinator explained that today is about real people with real lives. She went on, “it’s not just about History but about the wider world”, gesturing to a Genocide Watch map on the projector screen to illustrate the areas at risk of genocide today. She explained that the aim of today is for the students to become informed global citizens, able to do what they can to make a difference.

The whole year group were shown a short film called *Pigeon* (Green 2004). Set in World War Two, the film tells the story of an older Jewish man as he boards a train in order to escape Nazi occupied France. On the train he is confronted with a German guard who demands to see his papers. At this point, a fellow passenger and stranger steps in and covers for the Jewish man by pretending to be his wife. The German guards accept her story and move on. Back in their History classroom, the students individually answered questions about the film on a worksheet, which were then shared in a discussion facilitated by their History Teacher. They felt that the point of the film had

been to show that “it’s up to you as an individual to decide whether to help” (Y9 pupil) and that “small choices can make a big difference”. They noticed the choices made by the man – saving the pigeon and travelling with false papers, the choices made by the woman – taking a risk by pretending to be the man’s wife. The teacher added that the guards had also made a choice to accept the woman’s story. This led on to a discussion about acts of rescue with agreement that an act of rescue can be something small such as helping someone or sharing food, or something big such as helping someone escape.

The focus on choices helped to construct responsible being and action as an integral part of everyday life, about taking responsibility for our own actions rather than being responsible *for* others in a paternalistic sense. This contrasts with approaches which see action as something outside of our normal daily experience (Jefferess 2012a). The actions discussed here were informed and intentional as in the action competence approach outlined in chapter two (Jensen and Schnack 2006).

At the end of the task on the film, the accompanying powerpoint slides reminded students that,

All those involved in the Holocaust – victims, perpetrators, bystanders, rescuers – were ordinary human beings. Just like you and me. What choices can any of us make when confronted by racism, acts of violence against others, bullying and prejudice? (Holocaust Day Lesson Powerpoint, 25.04.12).

The next task was about “setting up and challenging their [students’] stereotypes and prejudices about groups and individuals, whilst developing their knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust” (Lesson Plan, 25.04.12). The students were shown a series of photographs. For example, one photograph depicted a man building sandcastles on the beach with his wife and two sons (see figure 7 below). The students were asked to write down five adjectives to describe this man. They came up with words such as “proud”, “caring”, “loving”, “happy”, “a family man”. The teacher then revealed that this man was Reinhard Heydrich, a high-ranking Nazi official who was responsible for organising the murder of the Jews. Heydrich was personally responsible for planning the sites of the Nazi death camps.

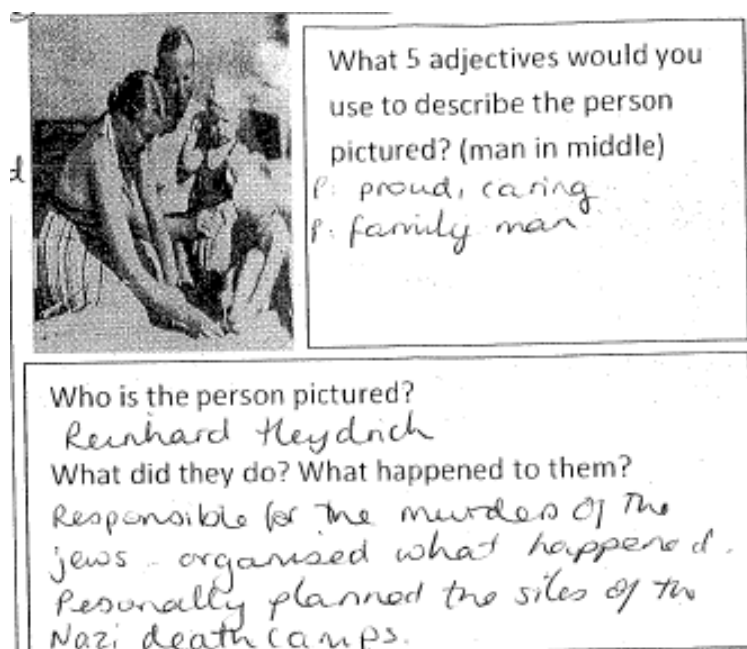


Figure 7: Extract from Student Worksheet on Roles of Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders and Rescuers

In doing so, the activity challenged the discourses that students might have about ‘good’ people and ‘bad’ people, demonstrating that Nazi officials were not inhuman but real people with families who enjoyed building sandcastles on the beach. This encouraged the students to engage critically with stereotypes of people involved in the Holocaust and to challenge simplistic discourses of ‘good’ and ‘bad’. This forms part of Todd’s (2008) call to face humanity with all its antagonistic elements rather than one-sidedly focusing on the goodness of humanity. In this sense it forms part of the critical approach to knowledge outlined in chapter two: here knowledge, in this case, is seen as a social-construction which students are encouraged to challenge.

The highlight of the day for many of the students was the opportunity to hear from a 92-year old Holocaust survivor. In preparation for the talk, students were asked to write down on post-it notes what they were expecting and to think about a question they would like to ask. They were expecting a “frail”, “old” man, some imagined that he would be “sad”, while others expected him to be more “relaxed”, that he would have “come to terms with what happened” and be “at peace with himself”.

Informal comments suggested that the students were quite surprised to find a talkative and lively older man with an obvious sense of humour and a sense of adventure in his younger days. He told the students about his life growing up in Vienna and having to leave for Belgium and later France in his teens, eventually adopting a false identity and living as a French man working for a cabaret business in Paris before joining the French resistance. Here, I wish to draw attention to the part of the speaker's story where he is captured by the Gestapo. He admits his true Jewish identity in order to protect fellow members of the resistance and, consequently was taken to Auschwitz. This is an example of resistance, an incredibly difficult thing to do in order to protect others. It offers the students an example of a different way in which one can take action in the face of injustice compared to the charitable giving described above. It can be seen as an example of responsible action, a decision based on understanding of the different options and one made very intentionally in order to protect others (Jensen and Schnack 2006). The survivor's story illustrated that taking responsible action is not necessarily easy – for him, it resulted in being sent to Auschwitz. This served as an example to the students, many of whom were very inspired by the survivor's story, describing him as a "hero" and a "legend" (Fieldnotes, 25.04.12). Others commented how they had learned not to just stand back and let things happen (Y9 Student, 23.05.12).

This section has provided an insight into the HGP at Castle School, demonstrating how it encourages critical engagement with discourses about humanity, challenging stereotypes about 'goodies' and 'baddies', and constructing responsible action as something based on informed everyday choices, which might not necessarily always be easy ones to make. In this sense it can be seen as an example of CGCE as outlined in the framework in chapter two. The day was led by the HGP co-ordinator, who, as mentioned above, has a subject specialism in the Holocaust, in-depth knowledge about the issue and was capable of leading a team of History teachers in engaging students critically with the subject matter. Throughout the day, the students were engaged and motivated to learn, asking questions and showing an interest in the topic, even students who usually found it difficult to stay on task as my fieldnotes (25.04.12) show. This is in contrast to the ASDAN award programme delivered by personal tutors in registration time, which came across as much more of a box-ticking exercise.

ASDAN Award Programmes

ASDAN is a charitable social enterprise which offers a flexible way to accredit skills for learning, employment and life and to recognise a wide range of personal qualities, abilities and achievements in young people. Castle School is one of over 5,000 registered centres providing ASDAN courses (ASDAN no date). They offer the ASDAN Key Steps Award to their KS3 students (Y7-9). The Key Steps Award covers topics of environment, enterprise, citizenship, health, identity, community, internationalism and personal finance. Each module or topic area comprises of a number of activities, challenges and tasks. Each student builds a portfolio of evidence of work they have done on the challenges alongside their ASDAN student book. They must demonstrate that they have spent 30-35 hours on the tasks and challenges in order to achieve each certificate.

On completion of the Key Steps Award, students gain two credits towards the Certificate of Personal Effectiveness (CoPE) which is completed in KS4 (Y10-11) and, approved by Ofqual, is worth the equivalent of half a GCSE. The topics and format of the programme are very similar to those of the Key Steps Award. The ASDAN award programmes are delivered by personal tutors during the daily 30-minute morning registration period and termly collapsed timetable days. These represented marginal spaces within the school. The time available to complete tasks was limited – most of the half hour sessions were spent reading out notices, doing the register, unpacking, packing away and talking with friends, as this personal tutor explained:

Fieldnotes 29.06.11: Because it's this half an hour at the start of the day, the students don't take it seriously. There are always lots of emails and notices to get through, so by the time they get their folders out, there's hardly any time. (Science Teacher)

Looking back through my fieldnotes, I frequently noted the lack of enthusiasm of productivity amongst students in relation to ASDAN. This comment is representative:

Fieldnotes 16.06.11: The students were working on their ASDAN tasks, although this seemed to mostly involve chatting with their friends. Most of the students sat at their desks, their folders still piled up on the bag shelves in the corner until [their tutor] insisted that they collect their folders and start working.

While staff and students attested to the importance of the topics covered in ASDAN, it occupied a low 'Cinderella' status amongst both teachers and students (Bryan and

Bracken 2011: 39). Students often complained that “no one really likes ASDAN” (Y12 Student, 28.03.12), “it’s not really appreciated, let’s put it that way” (Y12 Student, 28.03.12), tasks are “boring” (Y9 Student, 29.06.11) and “I don’t like having to do a folder” (Y9 Student, 29.06.11). On several occasions teachers described ASDAN in a similar way, one teacher described ASDAN as a “load of rubbish” (Fieldnotes, 13.06.12) and another introduced her class to a topic by saying, “this isn’t just another rubbishy ASDAN task that doesn’t count for anything” (Fieldnotes, 05.07.11). Part of this can be explained because many personal tutors did not feel prepared to deliver the ASDAN programme and felt bitter that they had been asked to teach it without appropriate knowledge, training or experience. When I asked the Science Teacher from the vignette below what she thought about ASDAN, she replied:

Fieldnotes 29.06.11: I think it’s important that they learn about these issues and have these discussions but I don’t think they should palm it off onto other teachers. I wouldn’t be able to teach Maths or English and it’s the same with Citizenship – I haven’t had any training or background in it.

Another personal tutor, a Maths Teacher, explained to me that without subject-specific knowledge about the United Nations (UN), he will be “looking at the effort they have made and how reasonable their work is” when marking his tutor group’s newspaper articles on the work of the UN. He explained that for internet-based research tasks, students would often find out more than the teacher and he will have to “assume that what they research is reasonably correct” (Fieldnotes, 23.05.12). Although Gilbert (2005: 143) notes that, “in order to facilitate thinking, learning and problem-solving among students, teachers will need a well-developed knowledge of their teaching subject and how that subject is best taught”, this section has illustrates that with ASDAN, this is not the case. Teachers are required to teach outside of their specialism and comfort zone and this has implications for the potential for developing criticality within GCE. The following section provides a vignette from a Y8 tutor group.

Y8 ASDAN

There were not many students in registration today. The two student reps had gone to a Student Voice meeting and another five students had gone to a meeting about volunteering at a party for elderly people in their community. The others worked on their ASDAN tasks, which mostly involved chatting with their friends. The class were working on a task in the values module of their student books. “Throughout the world many groups of people are discriminated against because of their ethnic background,

Chapter Five

colour, race, religion, age or disability. This module is designed to raise your awareness of issues related to discrimination and prejudice" (ASDAN 2007: 80). They had to answer two questions, the first set by their tutor, and the second taken from challenge one of the ASDAN student workbook module on values.

1. What is justice?
2. Find out the meaning of the word 'prejudice'. Discuss when you last saw anyone showing that they were prejudiced.

Some of the students were not sure what to write about as an example of prejudice which they had encountered. A couple of students wanted to write about prejudice within school between them and their teachers. However, their tutor said she was not happy with them all writing about teaching. She suggested that if they could not think of anything, they just write about something they had heard about such as apartheid in South Africa. A couple of students asked whether racism, homophobia and sexism count as prejudice – their tutor said that they did. She also reminded them of an example of sexism which she herself had experienced in her previous work in the army. The students wanted to know why she had not stood up to those who were discriminating against her. She explained that it is easier said than done. "It's difficult when all of your friends are laughing along and although they're not the ones actually making the comments, they're still going along with it because it's too hard for them to take a stand. It gradually wears you down." Someone else asked whether she cried. Yes, at times she did. Never in front of them though.

Meanwhile, the group of boys around me began discussing what justice is in response to the first question. "So what is justice?" "Justice is when...I dunno". "Is it doing something good for somebody else?" Their discussion did not last long before the whole class descended into a debate on regional accents. Their tutor told them that the correct way to say 'aitch' is without the 'h' sound. "It's 'aitch', not 'haitch'". There was a lot of hilarity surrounding the pronunciation of all the usual words such as 'bath', 'scone', 'grass' and 'exam' and the level of 'poshness' associated with each enunciation. This concluded the end of the 30-minute registration period before everyone hurriedly packed away and stood behind their desks ready for their first full lesson. The next morning it was on to a new task about apartheid in South Africa.

This challenge was adapted from the values module of the Key Steps Award student book (ASDAN 2007: 81). The students were asked to answer the questions 1) "How

was South Africa not open to equal opportunities?”, and 2) “How has hosting the world cup changed South Africa?” There was supposed to be a video which went with the challenge but it was not working. The tutor grumbled that this kind of thing is impossible to do in school. “That is the problem with ASDAN – they set increasingly complicated tasks which require you to do research, which you cannot really do without computers”. There were no computers in the science lab which doubled as her tutor room. Instead she found a video on you tube which gave a white perspective from a young person on growing up in South Africa during apartheid. She told the class that she had not watched the clip but would try and find others for them to watch next week. At the end of the clip the tutor remarked how much guilt there was for white South Africans and then it was time to pack away folders.

This section has shown how ASDAN is afforded low status by both students and teachers due to the lack of training for teachers, lack of confidence and knowledge, lack of resources (e.g. computer access) and lack of time. These difficulties have been discussed in the existing literature (Bryan 2011; Davies *et al.* 2005). While the teacher did her best and openly shared her own experiences of prejudice with the students, creating space for the students to ask questions and bring their own concerns to the classroom, further critical reflection on justice and prejudice was beyond the scope of a 30-minute session.

Formal Curriculum

This section considers the relationship between GCE and the formal curriculum directly, demonstrating the potential it offers for a more critical approach. Drawing on wider policy discourses about GCE, members of the SLT talked about their plans for developing GCE so that it would not be only an “add-on” or a “bolt-on” but an “integral part of the school” and an “embedded part of the curriculum” (Fieldnotes, 23.11.11).

I think where global learning for me has now gone, where it’s started to become much more weighty and meaty is where it’s totally anchored into what you’re doing with the curriculum (Assistant Head, 29.02.12).

Embedding GCE into the curriculum was seen as a way of making the existing curriculum more meaningful and engaging for students. This mirrors existing research and guidance e.g. Think Global (2011a), Think Global and British Council (2011) Oxfam (2012) and Davies *et al.* (2005), which highlights how GCE can contribute to the

Chapter Five

overall success of a school. Similarly, research also suggests that GCE through the formal curriculum is perceived to have a greater impact on pupils' learning than linking programmes, fundraising, assemblies or outside speakers (Bourn 2012). At Castle School, embedding GCE into the curriculum was also seen as an important way of making GCE more inclusive and accessible to all students, including those who could not afford to or were not interested in taking part in extra-curricular activities.

However, despite agreement among the SLT about the importance of embedding GCE into the curriculum, there was uncertainty about what it means to 'embed' and how this should be achieved. An embedded approach was therefore something that the school saw as an ideal rather than something with a clear strategy, as shown by the Head Teacher.

We're trying to get it into the curriculum. It's just how you're going to do that (Head Teacher, 29.06.12).

In practice, the approach taken to embedding GCE in the curriculum, was, at least in part, linked to the International School Award (ISA). According to the ISA website, schools achieving full award status "will have embedded international learning in the curriculum and global themes into teaching" (British Council 2013). In order to have their full ISA award re-accredited, the IE co-ordinator at Castle School carried out an 'internationalism audit' in spring 2011 in order to evaluate the existing provision of GCE across departments. Each teaching department was asked to list the 'global' or 'international' units and topics they already cover within the curriculum and to list their objectives in relation to internationalism. They were instructed that this "can be *anything* in relation to global issues such as other cultures, international awareness, different social and economic backgrounds in different countries and links between communities" (Internationalism Audit, Spring 2011: my emphasis). These instructions illustrate the broad way in which GCE was understood within the school, as well as the emphasis on other cultures. A summary of this audit is provided below. For the purposes of this summary, only KS3 topics have been included since all students follow this curriculum.

Table 7: Summary of Castle School's International Audit

Subject	Topics	Objectives
English	Travel writing, protest writing and Martin Luther King, poetry from different cultures, war poetry, quests and narratives, Holes, Boy in Striped Pyjamas, European cinema	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students learn about different styles of a film from European cinema, giving them a good appreciation of cultural differences.
Maths	Curriculum plus introduction, foreign currency, history of Maths	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students learn about how maths developed in other countries including numbers and number systems, independent of language skills. - They develop an appreciation of the value of money in other countries - foreign currency also provides an everyday context for studying of multiplication. - Mathematicians from a variety of ages and countries are studied so students benefit from learning about how knowledge can develop by cooperation.
Science	Volcanic activity and the rock cycle, smoking, human body and health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students learn about volcanoes and how different countries deal with the threat of, and aftermath of volcanic eruptions. - Students research smoking and smoking related diseases. They look at the impact of the diseases in different countries.
History	Second World War and Holocaust, Second World War and Hitler's Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students gain an understanding and awareness of the impact of the Holocaust (also linked with RE). - Students gain an understanding of the impact that Hitler had on Germany and the international situation before and during the War.
Geography	Sport – international elements of sport, natural phenomenon – earthquakes and volcanoes, extreme weather, Brazil, tourism – South Africa, Japan, 80/20 development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students investigate the causes and effects of volcanoes and earthquakes around the world. - Students gain understanding of how extreme weather can affect other countries (e.g. Hurricane Katrina). - Students gain understanding of Brazil as country and gain awareness of the different cultures, people and rainforest communities. - Students gain understanding of South Africa's attraction to tourists and how this impacts upon the country. - Students gain understanding of Japan as country and gain awareness of the different cultures and communities. - Students study the impact of poverty on LEDC's and how development can be managed. Students gain understanding of disadvantaged communities and how they cope with poverty.

Chapter Five

Religious Education (RE)	Expression of Worship, Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam, Prejudice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students gain an understanding of some of the religious places of worship in Italy e.g. Sistine Chapel. - Students gain a wide understanding of how Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam originated. They gain knowledge of India and the River Indus and the development of the religion, as well as the beliefs of Muslims and an insight into Islamophobia. - Students gain an understanding of how Prejudice affects the life of people in particular reference to Martin Luther King and the protests in America.
Modern Foreign Languages (MFL)	Senegal, religion, school systems, food, festivals, cinema	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students learn about life in Senegal. - Students find out about religious practice in France - Students investigate the French, Spanish and German school systems and compare and contrast it to the UK. - Students research diet in Spain and compare it to UK tastes. - Students learn about festivals and celebrations in Spain. They become aware of and sensitive to cultural similarities and differences within these contexts.
Design Technology (DT)	Graphics, textiles, food technology, engineering.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students exchange news articles with pupils from a Caribbean school while learning key elements of graphic design and ICT skills. - Students research patterns and colours used in other cultures to create an image for a cushion or ski-hat. - Students research and cook recipes from other cultures. Issues such as Fair Trade are introduced and explored. - Pupils learn about construction in other countries and use this to create structures of their own.
Information Computer Technology (ICT)	Producing a holiday brochure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Researching global holiday destinations, looking at climate, local activities etc.
Drama	Political theatre and Brecht, Black Harvest, Theatre of the Absurd and Beckett, Holocaust and Kinder Transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students understand the social, cultural and political context of Brecht to better analyse the play - Students develop understanding of the historical context of the Irish potato famine and perform a play - Students develop an understanding of the European theatre tradition, Theatre of the Absurd
Music	James Bond, Fanfares, Caribbean music, African music, Indonesian music, Indian music, American music	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students to develop an appreciation of a genre of music - Students to investigate various aspects and styles of each international musical tradition
Art	Mexican Day of the Dead, Islamic art	

An analysis of the international audit illustrates how each department has identified topics perceived to be relevant to GCE within their existing curriculum. The summary

in table 7 shows the range of topics which were identified; from travel writing in English, foreign currency in Maths, smoking and health in Science, to the Second World War in History, natural disasters in Geography, prejudice in RE, holiday brochures in ICT, political theatre in Drama and various traditions of music and art in the arts. It is difficult to sum up such a wide range of topics concisely. Unsurprisingly, the Humanities subjects, especially Geography, include the largest number of GCE topics, including traditional ones associated with international development. Yet all subject areas have identified some areas of GCE, which supports Bourn's (2012) findings.

The audit shows that GCE is largely seen in terms of 'other countries', either through specific case studies such as Brazil, Japan and South Africa in Geography, Italy and India in RE, Ireland in Drama, Senegal in MFL, or in terms of how different countries approach issues such as education in MFL, health in Science, natural disasters in Geography, construction in DT, and the similarities and differences between these. Some subjects focus on issues such as conflict in English and History, prejudice in RE, development in Geography, while others focus on opportunities for students in terms of using foreign currency and designing holiday brochures. The emphasis on other countries and cultural dimensions as a focus for GCE has been well documented within the literature (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Davies *et al.* 2005; Edge *et al.* 2009; Hunt 2012; Mannion *et al.* 2011). It has also been criticised for creating a sense of distance and failing to recognise the complex interconnectedness of issues.

However, informal conversations at Castle School revealed that some teachers were uncertain about what to include on the international audit. For example, one English teacher talked me through his decision to include a book, *Touching the Void*, on the KS4 audit. According to the final copy of the audit, the aim of reading this book in relation to GCE is for students to "investigate the Peruvian Andes looking at the geography and culture of the area to improve their understanding of the real life story depicted in the novel". However, the teacher explained that he was worried that the link to GCE was "tenuous". In the end, the English department had decided to include it on the international audit because "at least it gets Peru on the map — they learn where it is" (Fieldnotes, 29.06.11). This example again illustrates some of the uncertainties about what the aims of GCE are and what the purpose of including topics on the audit is.

Chapter Five

The broad understanding of ‘global’ used in the audit meant that many topics had an element of GCE. For example, in the summary audit above, the science department includes volcanic activity and the rock cycle in which students learn about “volcanoes and how different countries deal with the threat of, and aftermath of volcanic eruptions”. In the KS5 audit, topics of colour, medicine, atmosphere, oceans, space, nuclear reactions, adaptations and disease were also included, demonstrating the all-encompassing nature of the GCE. For instance, in one exchange with a Geography Teacher, I asked if I could spend time in the Geography department to understand how they were covering GCE. He replied that most topics in Geography have a global theme and explained that I could come to lessons on the extinction of animals, Antarctica, population, a comparison of responses to natural disasters between rich and poor countries (Fieldnotes, 06.05.11). Similarly, a discussion with a History Teacher revealed that he perceived much of the History curriculum to have a global element – actually most of the topics they cover have a global element although he was not sure whether the students actually made that connection or saw it as global learning. (Fieldnotes, 16.05.12)

These examples are reminiscent of the point that Huckle (2002: 34) makes when he describes global dimensions as “omnipresent” and “wide open to interpretation”. For him, the term ‘global dimension’ has little utility as a focus for curriculum development since everything can be argued to have a global dimension. Indeed, some teachers expressed concern with the superficial approach of the international audit, which places emphasis on box-ticking and proving that you are doing something international rather exploring an issue in depth.

What tends to happen is that people tend to go, well alright, what’s vaguely international about this and then they’ll show that as evidence that they’re doing something international. It’s not like they go out there specifically to go, right, let’s take this issue and try and explore it (English Teacher, 28.03.12)

This discussion has highlighted some of the limitations of the ISA international audit approach. While it has stimulated discussion about GCE within the school and its relationship with the curriculum, it is also met with confusion and scepticism by teachers who are unclear what counts as GCE and see it as another box-ticking exercise. Previous research identifies award schemes as positive (e.g. Hunt 2012); however, this research raises questions about how far these are merely tick-box exercises which identify existing topic areas rather than in-depth reflection and

exploration about *how* the school is approaching those topics (i.e. critical/non-critical). This encourages wide coverage of 'global' topics rather than good quality criticality.

What the ISA did reveal is that there are many existing areas within the curriculum which deserve further investigation in relation to GCE. During observations I encountered many lessons which covered global and development themes, some of which were not included on the international audit. Some of the lessons illustrated tensions between CGCE and the formal curriculum, while others revealed the extent of critical and creative approaches already evident within the school. There is not room to detail all of these here but I include four vignettes by way of example. These come from Geography, MFL and English lessons with KS3 (Y8 and Y9) and have been selected to demonstrate a range of critical and non-critical GCE within the curriculum. Each vignette is constructed from fieldnotes based on observations, informal conversations, as well as analysis of materials such as textbooks or other resources.

The first is a Y9 mixed ability Geography lesson from the 80:20 unit on development. In this lesson, the students created their own top trumps cards based on a range of traditional development indicators. In the second example, top set Y8 French students practised the past-tense by reading about a dream holiday in Senegal and writing about their own dream holidays. The third is from a top set, Y8 English lesson on Mark Haddon's book, *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time*. The book tells the story of Christopher, a fifteen year old with Asperger's Syndrome who sets out to investigate the murder of his neighbour's dog (Haddon 2003). The final vignette comes from a Y8 mixed ability Geography lesson on the 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil spill which killed 11 and resulted in 4.9 million barrels of oil being spilt, threatening marine life and hundreds of miles of coastline (BBC 2011). These examples demonstrate the variety of global and development themes across the curriculum lessons. Some illustrate how criticality including critical knowledge, dialogue with multiple perspectives and self-reflection are already a significant part of the formal curriculum. Other lessons demonstrate tensions between CGCE and the formal curriculum where exam specifications, textbooks and syllabi constrain the potential for critical questioning, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action.

Y9 Geography, Development Top Trumps

Following on from two previous lessons entitled 'Measures of Development' and 'More Measures of Development', which introduced students to GDP, as well as to

Chapter Five

'alternative' measures of development including birth rate, death rate, infant mortality rate, number of doctors per 100,000 of the population, access to water and illiteracy rate, the aim of this lesson was for students "to be able to *use* different measures of development' (Scheme of Work, March 2012: my emphasis). The teacher explained that, in groups of four, the students would need to create a set of country top trumps in order to play the card game themselves. They would need to have the following information on each card: name of country, flag, birth rate, death rate, total population, life expectancy, food consumption, and number of cars. They were to refer to the statistics section at the back of the atlases in order to find this data.

The teacher explained that it is up to them which countries they chose but they should try to pick a mix of rich and poor countries – five of each. They should also think about which countries would help them to win. A low birth rate or death rate would win but life expectancy, population and food consumption is high. Each group of four should make ten cards in total.

Several students chose countries based on which had the 'coolest flag' or the 'weirdest name', while others used the lists of the top ten richest and poorest nations they had written into their books in a previous lesson. As they came towards the end of the lesson, most groups had finished designing their cards and colouring their flags and had begun to play a game of top trumps. They really enjoyed doing this and as I walked around I could hear lots of exclamations – for example, "Somalia against Luxembourg!", his tone implying that Somalia had no chance, and "Afghanistan's a legend. It's just won everything". The teacher commented how much the students enjoyed this activity and I also noticed that two girls at the back who do not usually seem very engaged were absolutely gripped. One of them commented, "this is really addictive, can't we carry on playing?"

While this lesson was clearly popular with the students, like the textbooks and examination specifications in Lambert and Morgan's (2011) analysis, it served to reinforce a simplistic view of 'development' as something to be measured rather critically engaging with the notion of 'development' itself which is often a complex and often personally-felt process. The focus on the national level also hid inequalities within countries, and the format of the top trumps game encouraged students to pitch countries against one another. This encouraged the view of development as a race to the top, as illustrated by student comments about winners and losers. Development

was constructed as a competition along a uni-dimensional path measured by birth rate, death rate, life expectancy, number of doctors and number of cars. It also reinforced a dichotomy between 'rich' and 'poor' as the students were encouraged to choose five of each without considering why these inequalities exist. Subsequent lessons did address the issue of causality but there was a tendency to confuse symptoms and causes of poverty and an emphasis on 'natural' causes such as poor climate rather than historical and contemporary economic and political factors.

Although this lesson did give students an appreciation of the differences between countries and some students expressed surprise over some of the indicators, the main emphasis was on having fun and doing an enjoyable activity. While this is important, the activity did not encourage critical engagement with the topic of development and was restricted by examination boards and textbooks from which the end of unit test was drawn.

Y8 French, Sénégal: The Dream Holiday

Similarly, tensions between the MFL curriculum and GCE were also evident. In this lesson, the class continued to work on the past tense, building on what they had done in a previous lesson but using more complex vocabulary. The topic of this lesson was 'Destination Sénégal'. After establishing with the students that Senegal is a French-speaking country in Africa, the class read aloud a text from the textbook (see Meier and Ramage 2004: 84 and figure 8 below). The text is about a fourteen-year-old boy, Adrien, whose Mum had won a competition. Her prize was a two-week holiday in Senegal for her and her son – and Adrien talks about the dream holiday they had. The text includes details of the journey including flying into Dakar, the capital of Senegal. Whilst his Mum was reading on the amazing beach, Adrien enjoyed a range of activities including wind surfing, water skiing, archery, golf, and 'banana riding'. The French pronunciation of the latter was the source of much hilarity amongst the class. Adrien and his Mum also visited a national park with wild birds.

Écoute et lis.

Adrien Storr (14 ans) a de la chance: sa mère a gagné notre concours du mois de juin. Son prix? Quinze jours au Sénégal pour deux personnes ...



Adrien et sa mère sont partis de l'aéroport Charles de Gaulle à Paris le 15 juillet, et ils sont arrivés à Dakar, capitale du Sénégal, sept heures plus tard. L'hôtel 'Silhouette de la Mer' était très luxueux. Les chambres étaient toutes dans des bungalows à l'architecture respectant le style local, et avec accès direct à la plage. Et quelle plage! ... Du sable fin s'étendant sur plus de trois kilomètres!

Madame Storr a lu tranquillement des livres sous un parasol sur la terrasse. Par contre, Adrien a profité de toutes les activités: il a fait

de la planche à voile, du ski nautique, du tir à l'arc, et même du banana-riding! Il a aussi joué au tennis de table, au golf et au volley-ball.

Pendant la deuxième semaine, ils ont voyagé au parc national de Djoudj pour voir les nombreuses espèces d'oiseaux (pélicans, hérons, flamants) qui y habitent. C'était magnifique!



Adrien pense que le Sénégal est vraiment incroyable. Il fait des économies maintenant pour y retourner un jour. On ne sait jamais ...

Figure 8: Destination Sénégal (Meier and Ramage 2004: 84)

In the text, Senegal is described as a being truly incredible – “Adrien pense que le Sénégal est vraiment incroyable” – with beautiful beaches and fine sand extending for over three kilometres – “...la plage – quelle plage! ... Du sable fin s'étendant sur plus de trois kilomètres!” Adrien is now saving so that he can return one day. Senegal is portrayed as a wonderful holiday destination, but, drawing on postcolonial theory, as Adiche (2009) argues, these images may contribute to the maintenance of a single story about Africa as “a place of beautiful landscapes, beautiful animals and incomprehensible people fighting senseless wars, dying or poverty and AIDs” (Adiche 2009: 6m 15s). It does not explore the concept of ‘going on holiday’ or question why some people are in a position to apply for a passport, to take time off work to travel and others are not. For others, travel is about fleeing persecution and applying for asylum when in a new and often hostile place. The article does not challenge the directionality of holiday-makers from France and Britain travelling to Senegal rather than Senegalese holiday-makers visiting France. In this way, the representation of Senegal as an amazing holiday destination risks reproducing stereotypes and leaving

dominant discourses unexamined. It also fails to mention the environmental impact of a long-haul flight.

Obviously the primary focus of this class was on the grammar and use of the past tense. After reading the text, the students were asked to write about their own imaginary, amazing holiday – ‘Les Vacances de Rêve’. The teacher handed out dictionaries so that the students could “look up the crazy things you’ve eaten”. She also asked them to think about descriptive words they could use to make their writing more creative. The point here is not to suggest that the idea of a holiday could have been deconstructed within this lesson – the teacher had a syllabus to follow and was also constrained by the language ability of the students – but rather to suggest that the topics covered in MFL textbooks – and the tasks that students are set to write about have the potential to reinforce dominant stereotypes about inequalities around the world. This demonstrates the tensions between the formal curriculum and GCE and suggests the need for further engagement with curriculum designers and textbook publishers, as well as teachers, in order to challenge dominant discourses such as these.

Y8 English, The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time

However, CGCE was not always in tension with the formal curriculum. In other cases it acted as an enabler. The aim of one such lesson was “to explore the presentation of Christopher” within Haddon’s (2003), *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time* (Lesson Objective, 16.06.11). This might not typically be a GCE topic, but when I wrote to the teacher to ask for permission to observe her lessons, she clearly saw it as so:

No problem at all. We will be in a computer room researching Autism and Asperger's Syndrome as the class are about to start reading 'Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night Time' – not the most exciting lesson to observe, but maybe the subject matter might be useful in terms of the class understanding wider issues of society and citizenship? (Email, English Teacher, 08.06.11).

In a subsequent lesson, the students were back in their classroom. The English Teacher asked them to draw a continuum across a double page in their exercise books. At one end they were asked to write ‘ordinary teenager’ and at the other, ‘unusual teenager’. She then asked them to think back over the previous chapters they had read and consider what it is about Christopher, the main character, that makes him ordinary or unusual. For example, the teacher explained, “We know Christopher likes dogs. Lots of teenagers like dogs so we might put this near the ‘ordinary teenager’ label”. She

Chapter Five

reminded the class that it is never explicitly stated within the book that Christopher has Asperger's. They know that he does but she wants them to use the information in the book. The group on my table came up with lots of ideas; "he hit a policeman – that's unusual", "he likes reading Maths and Science books – not usual for a teenager but maybe usual for a nerd teenager", "he likes to roam at night", "he knows his birthday in days, which is half unusual...actually it's really unusual. Who does that?!", "he likes murder mystery novels which is kind of normal", "he doesn't recognise faces – is it offensive to say that?" The English Teacher explained that this is about their own response to Christopher, which is a personal thing. There are no right or wrong answers. While some students were initially worried about saying something 'wrong' or offensive, the teacher was able to create a safe space for discussion, reinforcing a social constructionist view of knowledge, and explaining that there are no right or wrong answers (Andreotti 2010).

However, she did this using a social realist understanding of knowledge (Young 2008), prompting the students to recognise that there are norms which govern what people can and cannot say and asking the students how they think Siobhan, Christopher's teacher should respond. In the next activity, the students were asked to think about their own response to Christopher. The teacher put six statements on the board:

- 1) I thought he was so rude! Siobhan [his teacher] should have told him off.
- 2) Christopher's comments made me laugh, but then I felt guilty for finding it funny.
- 3) Christopher doesn't have any real understanding of other people's feelings, so he doesn't mean to be cruel.
- 4) Christopher is only saying what other people think, so he's not so different from everyone else.
- 5) I don't think I'd like Christopher if I met him in real life. He seems so cold hearted.
- 6) I wish I could say what I think like Christopher does.

The students were asked to read the statements and say which ones they most agreed with. This led to an engaged whole class discussion. The teacher developed the discussion by asking in response to (4), whether calling someone stupid is the kind of thing that people should say aloud, and whether Siobhan, one of Christopher's teachers should have told him off.

Later in the lesson, the class continued to read the next couple of chapters aloud. They covered the part where Christopher gets arrested and is taken away in a police car. He is looking at the night sky and thinking about the galaxy. One of the students commented that she finds it amazing how Christopher trusts in himself and is able to think things through for himself. For her, “most of us would just ask if we didn’t understand something, especially something big like space. But Christopher thinks about it himself”. Their teacher said that she had never thought about it like that before and asked how many of the class take an interest in the night sky. This final comment by the student about Christopher’s musings about the galaxy suggested that she had been encouraged to see something from Christopher’s perspective – from reading the book she had taken away something unexpected about Christopher’s ability to think things through for himself. This could be seen as an example of being taught something unexpected by the Other (Bruce 2013; Todd 2003). It was an unintended outcome of the class and one with potential to influence the actions of the students in the future.

Through this lesson, the students encountered difference. It might not be difference in the traditional GCE sense, but nevertheless the students discussed and explored similarities and differences. Although they started with the labels of ‘ordinary’ and ‘unusual’, these were not seen as binary opposites as in many models of difference and constructions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ which often characterise GCE (Martin 2012). Instead they were seen as part of a continuum and the students were encouraged to break these binaries down. At times there were disagreements among the students about what counted as ‘ordinary’ and what counted as ‘unusual’. The activity encouraged the students to see different aspects of Christopher’s character at different points along the continuum – Christopher is both ordinary in his love of dogs and murder mystery novels, and different in his behaviour towards policemen and his recollection of his age in exact days. Similarly, the students placed themselves at different points along the scale for different aspects of their identity, recognising that there is no pure ‘ordinary’. I suggest that this deconstruction of sameness and difference is akin to Martin’s (2012) relational understanding, which begins at the individual level, with each individual understanding its own identity ‘in-relation-to’ others. This leads to a more complex and deeper understanding of difference than a homogenising approach which, may, for example, define Christopher only in terms of his Asperger’s. In this sense it represents a form of CGCE.

Chapter Five

In a different way, the following vignette from a Geography lesson about the 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil spill also illustrates possibilities for a CGCE within school.

Y8 Geography, Gulf of Mexico Oil Spill

The aims of this lesson were a) for the students to learn and understand something about the oil spill and its impact and b) to think about who was to blame for the disaster and form an opinion about who should pay for the clean-up (Lesson Objective, 06.05.11). Like the English lesson described above, the teacher emphasised that there are no right or wrong answers. Instead the lesson was about forming an opinion and being about to justify it. Again, this demonstrates a constructionist approach to knowledge where students were able to form their own opinions about responsibility for the disaster (Andreotti 2010).

Like the English lesson above, this was done within a social realist framework (Young 2008) which involved informing the students about the oil spill, what happened and which actors were involved. This was done primarily through watching the second half of a Panorama programme, *BP in Deep Water*, on the 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil spill. They had watched the first part in a previous lesson. The programme consisted of a series of interview clips with various BP workers, rig workers, fishermen from the southern United States, and environmentalists. The programme was very critical of the British-run multinational BP, which it blames for the spill. The teacher added that BP are not taking all the blame – Obama had backed deep sea oil drilling initially, and the oil rig was run by another company, an American firm called Transocean. After the programme, the teacher led a discussion about why the demand for oil has increased in recent years. The students offered the following answers, “is it because the population is growing?” and “everything we do requires oil”. The teacher explained that in order to meet the growing demand for oil, BP have to drill in deep water, which is very risky.

The class moved on to consider the impact of the spill, marking the slick onto a map and discussing photographs of the slick, a pelican covered in oil, the beach, the explosion and the oil leaking out. When asked to think about who should pay, the teacher gave them two main contenders and summarised the arguments as follows:

- BP: a British-owned multi-national company (MNC) drilling in American waters. BP owns the rig but Transocean were running it. BP received all the

profits. They were drilling in deep water in order to meet demand from the public. They tried desperately to stop the leak.

- The American taxpayer (and in a little way you and me): America has the highest demand for oil, the spillage was in their waters and affected their economies, BP pays American employees to work on the rig, and Transocean and Halliburton (the concrete company) are American firms. The American public use oil, we use oil and therefore we encourage MNCs to drill in risky areas.

The teacher commented that he believes, whether we like it or not, we are all partly to blame because of our I-pods, holidays, cars and lifestyles. He then asked the students to write a paragraph answering the following questions: “BP vs. taxpayer. Why? Are we all to blame for this disaster? Why?” The students were really engaged and asked lots of questions about the rig, whether they can include additional contenders, and how the clean-up is going. The video and follow-up activity provided the students with a stimulus for discussion — as Gilbert (2005: 156) argues “learners, thinkers and investigators need raw materials — things to think about, learn and investigate. Things to do things with.” It encouraged them to ask questions about what had happened and draw their own conclusions about who should pay.

After writing their own responses, the students shared their ideas with the class. Many felt that BP should have sorted the problem but as one student commented, “it’s hard to blame one person or company — everyone should be checking”.

This lesson encouraged the students to reflect upon their own implication in the Gulf of Mexico oil spill, demonstrating self-reflection as outlined in the framework in chapter two. While there was a tendency to talk in terms of the liability model of responsibility which assigns blame to individual actors, potentially foreclosing the possibility that other people are also responsible (Young 2006), many students developed their own view of shared responsibility, seeing both MNCs and consumers as jointly responsible.

This section has demonstrated the range of GCE topics already existing across the formal curriculum. While exam syllabi, formal specifications and textbooks representations sometimes sat in tension with a more critical approach, in other instances, the formal curriculum provided opportunities to incorporate elements of criticality including self-reflection, engagement with multiple perspectives and critical

examination of discourses. Compared to other informal whole-school practices described above, including the ASDAN programme, international linking and charitable giving, there seems to be more potential for critical engagement within the curriculum. I would argue that it is where GCE is part of the formal curriculum – especially the Holocaust and Genocide Education programme and the subject lessons described here – that the critical approach has most potential. These lessons are led by subject specialists with passion for their subjects who know how to critically engage students. In contrast, ASDAN awards, charitable fundraising and linking activities were carried out in tutor time or as extra-curricular activities by teachers who are not subject specialists and were not so motivated to engage students with the complexities of the topic. Lambert (2013) makes a similar argument.

This raises the question of why GCE is delineated as something separate from the curriculum. I return to this question in the final section of this chapter, outlining the spaces that GCE occupies within the school.

Spaces of GCE at Castle School

The previous section began to illustrate uncertainty and confusion about what it means to embed GCE within the formal curriculum as well as tensions and potentials for doing so. Indeed, most of the practices described in this chapter – school linking, fundraising, ASDAN, and to a certain extent, the Holocaust and Genocide Programme – took place in marginal spaces outside of the formal lessons at the whole-school level, for example, during registration and assembly, collapsed timetable days, enrichment week and as extra-curricular activities. They were seen as something different, separate or ‘extra’ to the formal curriculum. Yet they were most visible. This is in-keeping with common perceptions of GCE that see it as additional to the core knowledge of subject disciplines, except perhaps in subjects such as Geography or Citizenship (Bourn 2012; Hicks and Holden 2007). However, even these have a comparatively low status compared to traditional ‘academic’ subjects of Maths, Science and languages (Bryan 2011).

The previous section pointed to some of the ‘emptiness’ associated with those marginal spaces. Although there were some examples of these spaces being used creatively, for example, in by the HGP, many of the spaces occupied low status amongst teachers and students including ASDAN and enrichment week, were carried out by non-specialists,

and lacked focus or direction. School linking and charitable giving again did not occupy any regular space within the school and were not led by specialists. At Castle School, these whole-school approaches tended to be associated with 'softer' approaches to GCE (Andreotti 2006b), focusing on (although not exclusively) superficial differences, reproducing stereotypes and promoting simplistic and obedient actions.

In contrast, those activities that were associated with the formal spaces within the school including the Holocaust and Genocide Education programme and formal school subjects, showed much greater potential for critical engagement. The HGP and some formal lessons provided illustrations of nuanced engagement with assumptions, difference, self-reflection and promoted considered responsible doing and being. However, the relationship between GCE and the formal curriculum was ambiguous. I have already illustrated the confusion associated with embedding GCE into the curriculum. While the senior leadership team and IE Co-ordinator emphasised the importance of embedding GCE into the curriculum through the ISA, other teachers saw the curriculum as a barrier or a hindrance to the more cross-curricular, holistic and rounded approach they associated with GCE.

We're so constrained with the curriculum generally that you don't have those opportunities unless you collapse the timetable or do something at the end of the year... In an ideal world we'd love to do that or have more flexibility and scope, but it all comes down to, whilst we're still being judged on our examination results and while the funding of the school is based on those kinds of things and so much is driven to assessment, assessment, assessment, in some ways it's quite hard to assess the value of global education. Unless you're going to give them another exam, well, what's the point in that? (HGP Co-ordinator, 23.05.11).

We do have some poetry from sort of India, Pakistan, stuff like that. It's very limited. It doesn't really...you know. They have to study it towards an exam and they don't really get very deep into it...they don't explore its relevance in any particular detail (English Teacher, 28.03.12).

There was a strong sense that the assessment-driven nature of the curriculum was a barrier to GCE. This is consistent with Davies *et al.*'s (2005: 4) study of GCE in the West Midlands which found that both teachers and pupils feel constrained by the National Curriculum: "Teachers are concerned about exams; pupils feel they never have time to do anything in depth". However, despite these barriers, some staff at Castle School were able to explore, adapt and create spaces within the curriculum in which to accommodate a more in depth exploration of GCE themes and topics.

Chapter Five

For example, the HGP Co-ordinator adapted the formal and informal curriculum in a number of ways in order to develop the HGP. Firstly, by identifying areas of the National Curriculum which are linked to Holocaust-related topics: World War Two in History, Prejudice in RE, literature (*The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*) in English and Kindertransport in Drama. She also arranged to have an annual collapsed timetable day in Y9 and has included topics about the Bosnian and Rwandan genocides into collapsed timetable days, taking advantage of the flexible structure to allow deeper engagement with themes, guest speakers and reflective activities. Secondly, in the final half term after they have taken their short course GCSE RE exams, Y10 students studied the *Freedom Writers Diary* (The Freedom Writers and Gruwell 1999) and themes associated with conflict and prejudice. In doing so, they fulfil a credit towards the ASDAN CoPE award. She also set up an extra-curricular reading group for those students who wanted to go beyond the formal activities in school. This example demonstrates how space can be adapted to provide in-depth engagement with curricular themes. Creativity and teacher agency in adapting the curriculum structure towards GCE has also been documented by Schweisfurth (2006).

However, it tended to be those teachers who were particularly motivated or knowledgeable who had adapted the curriculum space to their own interests and needs, particularly in the case of the HGP. Others acknowledged that adapting the curriculum to include specific global themes and issues requires a lot of work and knowledge.

It's a lot of extra work to change something that isn't already broken... So if a teacher says, right, ok, I'm going to do a novel with KS3, my Y9s, they're not going to say, well, let's rewrite a whole scheme of work around this book, maybe it's a foreign language book, one that's been translated, or maybe it's Holocaust or genocide literature, when I've already got schemes of work for some book that I've already been teaching for the last 20 years (English Teacher, 30.05.12).

However, this chapter suggests that it is not necessarily a case of adding new 'global' topics to the curriculum. This is confusing and creates uncertainties about what is and what is not GCE. In many cases topics pertaining to difference, development, conflict and environment are already there in the formal curriculum, and the length of the international audit at Castle School proved testament to this. While identification might be an important first step in recognising what the school is doing, from a critical perspective, it is more a case of developing and improving what is already being done

to make sure that those opportunities for are being taken CGCE and teachers are equipped to engage students critically with these various topics. The examples above illustrate that there is still some work needed in the approach taken towards development in Geography and the approach taken towards holidays/Senegal in MFL and this will require changes in textbook representations, examination syllabi as well as teachers' curriculum-making. However, other lessons already demonstrate strong elements of CGCE which are already happening due to teachers' knowledge, motivation and creativity.

Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the diversity of GCE practice at Castle School, describing in some detail initiatives of school linking, charitable giving, Holocaust and Genocide Programme (HGP), enrichment week, ASDAN and the formal curriculum. In providing thick descriptions (Geertz 1973/1993) through the use of vignettes constructed from fieldnotes, informal conversations and interviews, I have demonstrated, not only the range of initiatives associated with GCE but also how these practices demonstrate elements of non-criticality as well as criticality.

It is difficult to capture such a wide range of initiatives succinctly. However, I have illustrated that those initiatives that are associated with the formal curriculum – HGP and subject disciplines – show most opportunities for a CGCE. This is likely linked to the teacher who, in the formal curriculum, is often a subject specialist with more passion for his or her subject than those leading whole-school approaches. The formal curriculum is also much more widely respected by teachers and students.

However, despite this potential, GCE occupies an ambiguous relationship to the formal curriculum and is couched by uncertainty within the school. On the one hand there is a push, especially amongst SLT towards embedding GCE within the curriculum, while on the other, teachers see the curriculum as a barrier to GCE. Although linking, fundraising and collapsed-timetable days are valuable when done constructively and sensitively, I have argued that rather than focus on adding 'global' topics to the curriculum, there is a need to develop and improve what is already being covered by working with exam boards and curriculum designers to create more opportunities for critical engagement. It is also important to empower teachers and trainee teachers to

Chapter Five

make the most of the opportunities that already present themselves within their specific area of the curriculum.

CHAPTER SIX

INSTRUMENTAL AGENDAS OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AT CASTLE SCHOOL

Introduction

Chapter five was concerned with the spaces of GCE at Castle School. It pointed to the opportunities for a CGCE particularly in relation to decisions about the formal curriculum. However, this chapter turns to consider the multiple agendas at play within the context of the school. It draws predominantly on interview data with teachers, students and parents, and is supplemented with observations and documents where appropriate. I have not presented teacher, student and parent perspectives separately as the differences between them did not prove significant for the purposes of my analysis. Although a critical approach to GCE was described by several members of the school community, using language such as fostering understanding, challenging stereotypes, engaging with others, challenging prejudice and taking informed decisions, the potential for this critical approach was constrained by overlapping instrumental agendas.

These instrumental agendas include economic – preparing young people for the global economy, moral – helping others and speaking out, and cultural – fostering tolerance and understanding. The existence of these multiple agendas is well documented in the wider literature (see e.g. Mannion *et al.* 2011; Marshall 2011; Roman 2003). However, this chapter provides an empirical example of how these instrumental agendas constrain CGCE within one school and the difficulties that participants faced in questioning the dominance of the economic, moral and cultural. Most notably, these agendas are used to justify GCE in line with the school's main functions of getting good examination results and producing well-rounded people. The school is deeply situated within these agendas and simultaneously contributes to their maintenance.

This chapter concludes with a call for greater recognition amongst theorists of the strength of these agendas within schools. It suggests that there is a need for a wider range of theoretical tools to enable critical engagement with the economic, moral and cultural agendas at play.

Critical Understandings

The word ‘critical’ was only mentioned explicitly on one occasion during fieldwork, during an interview with a teacher who talked of the importance of “an education that’s based on skills and critical thinking and awareness and engagement and all the rest of it” (HGP Co-ordinator, 23.05.11). However, although the term ‘critical’ was not popular, teachers, parents and students did talk about aspects of criticality including fostering understanding, challenging stereotypes, engaging with others, challenging prejudice and taking informed decisions. These are all associated with the framework of CGCE developed in chapter two.

In terms of knowledge, teachers, parents and students highlighted the importance of understanding what is happening around the world, including how people live in other cultures, issues such as poverty, inequality, consumerism, politics, the economy, conflict and genocide. For example,

They need to have an awareness of things like Third World poverty and...a proper understanding as to why it’s happening. They see, oh yeah, there’s poor people in Africa but they don’t know why necessarily, apart from the fact maybe that they don’t have food or education (Geography Teacher, 26.04.12).

This extract from an interview with a Geography teacher points to the importance of understanding the causes of poverty and why it is happening. This is consistent with the critical approach outlined in chapter two which questions *why* inequality exists. The importance of understanding why was also expressed eloquently by one of the parents.

Well I think they need to have that knowledge as they grow up and appreciate what’s going on and why decisions are made. You know, even I don’t know. There’s some things I think why has the government made that decision, or why are we giving aid to there, or why are we doing this and why is that happening there (Parent Four, 13.06.12).

Similarly, a member of the English department explained why he thinks it is important to focus on the social, political and environmental impacts of consumerism.

If I was to want to get anything across it’s consumerism and the effect it has on civil war torn land, oppressive regime countries, and they don’t care...I’d like people to be brought face-to-face with the effects of Westernised living in the modern world. I mean, the effects of what is happening has sort of been on the radar of scientists, teachers. Anyone

who's got an interest in the future of this globe have been aware of environmental issues, have been aware of catastrophic repression of whole continents of people through the capitalist system and yet still there seems to be this some sort of happy oblivion where children are educated towards being part of that system which is basically repressive and oppressive and that's what's depressing about it, that there doesn't seem to be any call on anyone to be aware of the globe and international issues as they really are as opposed to what we'd like them to sort of sugar coat and take away with them (English Teacher, 28.03.12).

He talks about the importance of understanding issues "as they really are", which suggests the existence of a reality, albeit a complex and changing one, which is consistent with the critical approach. He also points to the importance of self-reflection, suggesting that "I would like people to be brought-face-to-face with the effects of Westernised living in the modern world". In particular, he is concerned about complicity in relation to consumerism and the effects it has on wider environmental and social injustices. Similarly, one of the parents also recognised the importance of reflexivity in relation to GCE.

So a global citizen, I think you would start to ask yourself questions about your own actions and the way your own actions impact up the chain and you can ask yourself those questions all the time (Parent Two, 03.05.12).

Furthermore, some teachers recognised the importance of grappling with complexity in order to break down stereotypes and illuminate the 'shades of grey', as the HGP Co-ordinator explains:

From a Holocaust and genocide point of view, we don't go by numbers, we don't go by textbooks or whatever. We go by individuals.... So it's a variety of speakers, not just your survivors but a variety of speakers who can give you direct personal experience that gives you the shades of grey, that doesn't make it the blacks and whites" (HGP Co-ordinator, 23.05.11).

Although the school often prioritised an uncritical form of action (see the section below on moral GCE), two of the parents I spoke to and several teachers pointed to the importance of making informed decisions.

So you've got to weigh up these [pros and cons of various consumer choices]. And I think the school's role in that would be to encourage the kids into a debate about those values and about how they look at their own... because we're a consumer society in this country, and about how your actions as a consumer and the things you buy, how much you take into account how other people are treated in that supply chain, and encourage the kids to look at those sorts of things and don't take it at face value, to scratch the surface and to explore (Parent Two, 03.05.12)

This approach of weighing up the information available before deciding how to act is consistent with informed responsible being and action described in chapter two.

However, while ideas about CGCE which prioritise critical engagement with knowledge, dialogue with multiple perspectives, self-reflection and responsible action were expressed by several members of the school community, these came into tension with a number of instrumental agendas within the school including economic, moral and cultural, as well as specific school agendas such as the school's reputation, achieving good examination results, producing well-rounded students, and student wellbeing. These are explored in the remainder of this chapter.

Instrumental Global Citizenship Agendas

Economic Global Citizenship

One version of GCE at Castle School was concerned with the importance of preparing young people for work within a global economy. This view is in keeping with wider debates about education within a global context which increasingly point to the rise of neoliberalism (e.g. Apple 2000a; Connell 2013; Lauder *et al.* 2012b; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). Under neoliberalism, education is increasingly directed towards promoting a competitive edge within the global economy. Neoliberalism broadly refers to a political ideology with market rationality at its core. It is associated with a loosening of controls over banking, currency exchange and the movement of capital, leading to a widening of markets within the so-called 'global' arena (Connell 2013). Markets are seen as an efficient mechanism by which to distribute resources fairly and justly according to effort (Apple 2000a). For neoliberals, this is the best mechanism to ensure a better future for all.

At Castle School, GCE was seen as a way of equipping young people with the skills deemed necessary to prepare them for the challenges and opportunities afforded by the global economy. These included cultural understanding, flexibility, adaptability and competitiveness. Within neoliberal ideology, education is viewed as a process of human capital formation (Apple 2000a; Connell 2013). It is seen as important in fostering the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for a productive, profit-making workforce. This view of GCE was particularly strong within the SLT, but also amongst parents and some teachers and students.

GCE was perceived to play a role in preparing individual students for life and work in the global economy and increasing their employment chances. This was noted directly in the eTwinning report which specifies that eTwinning aims to “prepare students for a European job market or studying abroad” (eTwinning Report, March 2012). Comments such as these were typical for teachers:

We’re such an international world now and an international country. They can’t afford to just sit there and get a job in [local town] and not move out of the area... (IE Co-ordinator, 26.04.12)

You’ve got to be in a global capitalist society and you’ve got to be able to move between different economies and cultures as part of that (Assistant Head, 29.02.12).

These comments are premised on a discourse of inevitability about the global economy. The urgency and inevitability surrounding the global economy is demonstrated particularly clearly in the final comment by the Assistant Head which uses the imperative. These ideas about the global economy are based on common understandings and a taken-for-grantedness about the way the global economy operates, based on the need to be able to move between different cultures, to look further afield when looking for a job and be aware of the increasingly competitive global labour pool. Rizvi and Lingard (2010: 33) see this as a form of ideological discourse in which the globalisation of the economy is understood as something “inevitable and irreversible. It implies that nobody is in charge of globalization”.

Some members of the school community saw the global economy as an opportunity for students to travel and work abroad.

So we want them to understand that the world’s their oyster and they can go wherever they want (MFL Teacher, 07.07.12).

I think it’s just for the students to understand that they are part of the world and hopefully to get them to explore the world and use it...you know, to work abroad, study abroad even...hopefully bring their skills back here sometime (Parent Four, 13.06.12).

There’s much awareness of people saying, do you know what, we could go and work for UNICEF and we could go and do voluntary work overseas, and there’s a lot of talk like that, and you think, wow, there’s opportunities to contribute and to bring experiences back (Parent One, 25.04.12).

Chapter Six

I would like to learn more about the diverse range of languages in the globe in the future...learning the basics of the major languages, Arabic and Mandarin, would give me the opportunity to actually go and experience these cultures first hand (Y12 Student, 10.07.12).

Global corporations such as investment bank, JP Morgan, capitalised on this sense of opportunity associated with the global. The poster below was displayed on the entrance doors to the sixth form at Castle School inviting students to take part in a summer internship with the bank. It is advertised a “unique opportunity” including accommodation, transport and meals and “amazing evening activities”. This portrays the global as an exciting opportunity associated with corporate finance.



Figure 9: JP Morgan Poster Displayed on the Entrance Doors to the Sixth Form

However, others saw the global economy as a challenge, particularly given the economic downturn, Greek bailouts and UK recession taking place at the time of fieldwork.

They've got to understand that it's a global market now for things and you can't just get a job because your mum says you're good at something, which is what lots of people rely on I think before (Drama Teacher, 22.06.12).

All of the parents were concerned about their children's education in relation to their chances of getting a job in the future.

But the truth is, what we're really looking for, all of us, from our secondary education for our kids, is to get the best possible leg up on the ladder we can (Parent Two, 03.05.12).

We used to joke with our eldest...it sounds awful. Bad parent syndrome. We used to say if you don't work hard, you're going to end up in MacDonald's.... But you kind of want to educate them in the way that, you do realise that if you're not going to get there, you know if you end up a teen mum or a teen dad, you're going to look at the impact on your life (Parent One, 25.04.12).

Although they agreed that GCE is important, for most of the parents I spoke to, GCE was a secondary concern to the priority of getting a good education for their children.

At the end of the day it's a school and am I interested in the fact that it's global. No. Not remotely. I'm interested in them giving my kids the best quality of education and producing the most rounded kids (Parent Two, 03.05.12).

This comes in contrast to research by Think Global (2011c) which found that parents think it is vital for schools to teach children about the wider world.

Whether seen as a challenge or an opportunity, the global economy was predominantly viewed as something that students need to embrace, adapt to and prepare for when seeking employment in the future. Students were thought to need to be able to get on with people from different cultures, to be able to speak foreign languages, to be confident and to have an understanding of the nature of global competition. GCE was seen as important in preparing students for international competition, raising awareness of the different opportunities available to them, and fostering the skills needed to move between cultures and economies.

You get a job in a global economic situation with languages, with transferable skills, with realising the capacity and nature of globalisation (Assistant Head, 29.02.12).

This discourse positions individuals as responsible for adapting to and keeping up with rapidly changing markets (Biesta 2013; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). As Biesta (2013: 8: emphasis in original) says, “The issue is entirely defined as a question of individual *adaptation and adjustment* — as a matter of learning — and not as one of structural and collective responsibilities”. This rhetoric is also visible in the DfES (2004) document *Putting the World into World Class Education* which is frequently cited as an example of the technical-economic agendas at play within GCE. For example, the document talks about the need to “instil a strong global dimension into the learning experience of all children and young people” in order to equip “young people and adults for life in a global society and work in a global economy” and to fulfil a vision in which the UK is “a confident, outward-looking society and a leading edge economy playing its full part in the world” (DfES 2004: 3).

In part, this emphasis on adapting to the global economy was driven by the fear of losing out in international competition.

It is about them being aware of the cultural differences and this might sound not so right, but it's actually preparing our students for the fact that they're going to be going up against people from China and from all over the world when they're going for jobs and even when they're going for university places and it's for them to be aware of this and know that it's not just national competition. It's global competition you're talking about now and that they need to be aware that people will work so incredibly hard in places like China to get out of there, to learn and to develop because that's how their culture is and so it's about trying to switch our kids onto that so that they understand the competition that they're going against (Head Teacher, 29.06.12).

This way of thinking about international competition is widespread and is fuelled by the constant comparisons between national educational systems in international rankings (Lauder *et al.* 2012b). For example, in a study of senior business leaders conducted on behalf of Think Global and the British Council (2011), three-quarters of business leaders think the UK is in danger of being left behind by emerging economies such as China, India and Brazil, unless UK schools do more to promote global thinking. There is a concern that young people's horizons may not be broad enough to operate in a globalised and multicultural economy. For the Head Teacher at Castle School, gaining an understanding of difficult cultures' work ethics is an important way in which students can be prepared for the global economy. Furthermore, learning about global issues such as the Holocaust and genocide, poverty and under-privilege

was a way of getting students to realise how lucky they are and thus encouraging them to work hard and make the most of the available opportunities.

Knowledge of what happens around the world, so what happens in Africa, what has happened in Europe regarding the Holocaust and some of those genocide things...the street children in India..., and making them aware of this so that they actually understand how very very lucky they are and that they take advantage of the chances we're giving them (Head Teacher, 29.06.12)

The emphasis again is on taking advantage of opportunities. Interestingly, there was relatively little discussion or problematisation of the global economy, neoliberalism or globalisation at Castle School, which is surprising given the prominence of these ideas within the school amongst the views of teacher, parents and students, as well as their role in sustaining poverty and injustice (Egan 2012; Selby and Kagawa 2011). In general, consumption was reinforced in school, for example through informal comments made by teachers about liking students' trainers (Fieldnotes, 02.03.12) or their mobile phones (Fieldnotes, 23.05.12). The experience at Castle School therefore seems to support Bryan's (2011) concern that GCE has been co-opted by neoliberalism by tacitly accepting the brief to prepare young people to compete and consume in the global economy.

However, some of those who drew on neoliberal discourses within the school recognised that they were problematic. For example, when talking about the importance of understanding competition, the Head Teacher said, "and this might not sound so right" (29.06.12), which suggests that he is aware of the problems with this discourse although he goes on to use it. Similarly, the Assistant Head expressed concern, "I'm really concerned that it gets to this kind of, we must be global for the sake of getting a job in a global society" (29.02.12). Although he recognises that you do get a job in a global economy with languages, transferable skills and an understanding of globalisation, and that "this is the kind of message that will speak to a lot of head teachers under pressure", he does not see himself as part of this.

While the idea of the global economy went largely (at least openly) unquestioned at Castle School, not all teachers, students and parents accepted this dominant neoliberal discourse. One teacher questioned the inevitability of the global economy, suggesting that students should be "aware of their role in the global economy" and understand "what their consumerism does to the rest of the planet" (English Teacher, 28.03.12).

These examples illustrate the scope for further engaging with assumptions about the global economy and problematising consumption within schools.

Like Egan (2012) and Kenway and Bullen (2005) have argued, I suggest that there could be further critical understanding “of the increasing complexity of the economic system and the practices of global corporations” (Egan 2012: 52) and challenging the dominance of consumption upon which the economy is built (Kenway and Bullen 2005). In research with Development Education (DE) practitioners, Egan (2012) notes that there are a number of constraints to exploring corporate power within schools including a perceived lack of capacity and expertise around corporate issues, a lack of demand from schools coupled with a lack of funding, the fact that it is deemed too political or controversial for schools, and the lack of discourse on the significance of global corporations in relation to justice, equality and sustainability. There is therefore a need for theoretical tools to enable engagement with neoliberal discourses.

For example, the direct individual competition that the Head Teacher spoke about is based on the idea of positional advantage. This assumption of individuals going head-to-head in a competitive economy can be contested. Brown (2003: 154) writes that, “the idea that workers now have to operate in a global rather than a national market is a simplification for most workers”. Admittedly there are a number of bilateral agreements such as the one within the European Community, which extend the opportunities and risks of the labour market internationally. However, these agreements are intended to limit competition for human capital rather than make it global in scope (Brown 2003). This means that while graduates from the UK, France, Germany, Spain and Portugal might find themselves in increasing competition for technical jobs, these graduates are largely sheltered from direct competition from Russia, China or India (Brown 2003).

Rather than direct individual competition of the sort described by the Head Teacher, workers might, however, face indirect competition as a collective of workers. For example, Western graduates may be priced out of the global market because businesses and jobs are transferred to equally skilled but cheaper graduates in East Asia (Brown 2003; Lauder *et al.* 2012a; Lauder *et al.* 2012b). This means that many graduates might not obtain the kinds of high-skilled jobs or the incomes they may expect and instead face unemployment and increasingly temporary and casualised contracts (Lauder *et al.* 2012b). Ruddick (2003) argues that people experience the global economy in different

ways. For some young people this might mean periods of unemployment. This experience and reading of the global economy is very different to the dominant vision of a world of opportunities at Castle School. Discussing these different scenarios of the global economy with students may better prepare them for the realities some of them may face and empower them to challenge these realities. It also fits with parents concerns about preparing their children for gaining employment.

Moral Global Citizenship

A second strong instrumental agenda within the school was a moral one. There were strong moral imperatives around GCE in the school, expressed especially through the notion of “doing something”, “helping” and “speaking up, speaking out”. This is closely linked to New Labour’s notion of ‘active citizenship’ which prioritises discourses of doing something, taking action and making a difference (DfES 2005; QCA 1998).

I want to see some active citizenship and involvement, a bit of responsibility, a bit of independence. What can I do about this situation? Who can I talk to? Who can I write to? (HGP Co-ordinator, 23.05.11).

I think it’s the school’s responsibility as one who claims to be a global community or whatever it is, a global school in a local community. I think it’s our responsibility to break down those barriers that technology has built up, and get them [students] to care, not just to care and go how awful, but to actually want to do something about it... (English Teacher, 30.05.12).

These quotes show how knowing about global issues such as genocide and poverty is perceived to be insufficient. It is not enough “just to care and go how awful” but it is about “actually wanting to do something about it”. There is a strong moral element to this, “otherwise you are just a spectator” (Science Teacher, 16.07.12). This sense of ‘doing something’ was especially strongly expressed by the students, as this extract from a Y9 discussion group shows. At this moment, they are joined by their English teacher who strongly encourages the idea of taking action.

English Teacher: think about what’s happening in Syria. It’s exactly the same thing that happened during the Holocaust. They’re rounding people up.

P1: and killing them

English Teacher: and they’re killing them in mass

Chapter Six

P2: that's why we need to learn about the Holocaust and then more people will be aware of it and then it's less likely to happen

P3: If we're learning about the Holocaust, why does it still happen?

English Teacher: that's a very good question, so you think about as a global citizen, whose responsibility is it to stop that and do something about it?

P1: it stops you from being ignorant really

P2: yeah, that's what I said

English Teacher: yeah, but is not being ignorant enough?

P1: yeah, I stole it off you [P2]

P3: you need to actually do something about it so being a global citizen is like taking part as well

English Teacher: yeah, being active

P2: yeah, it's not just learning about it, it's actually being active

Helping

Part of this discourse of being active was a very strong 'helping imperative' which was closely linked to the numerous charitable initiatives described in chapter 5, where NGO appeals draw upon the morality of the audience (Tallon 2012a). Ideas about helping were particularly strong amongst the students, who spoke proudly of the charitable work they do in school.

We help quite a lot of charities like we help Water for Malawi quite a lot and we do different events and non-school uniform days and people pay a pound and the money goes to charity (Y9 student, 16.03.12)

As well as helping out the community and doing things for the school, it's going a bit further and helping out different countries and different charities that help different countries that need help to get back on the right road (Y9 student, 16.03.12).

These ideas about helping and charity were practised explicitly through the school's programme of charitable initiatives as described in chapter five. They were also reinforced in the formal curriculum in lessons such as Geography, where Y9 students learned "what can be done to help poverty" (Lesson Plan, February 2012), and RE, where Y8 students had to "find out about a Christian charity" (Fieldnotes, 04.07.11)

and Y9 students watched an episode of *How the Other Half Live* which showed a poor, single parent family from Zimbabwe receiving donations from a wealthy family from the Home Counties (Fieldnotes, 16.06.11).

Helping was seen as important for a number of reasons. There was a strong sense amongst pupils of being able to do something to solve the problem of poverty. When asked what makes poverty a global issue, one Y12 student replied, "I think it is our issue because we are able to solve it" (Y12 Student, 08.03.12). This was underpinned by a strong sense of morality and the sense that "if you can, you should" give to others as illustrated in the following extract by a Y9 pupil.

I think that everyone should try and help because we've already got the things that we need so we should give that to other people as well who don't have it (Y9 Student, 15.03.12).

Similarly, other students spoke of their future role in being able to put a stop to injustices such as poverty and conflict.

CB: What do you think it means to be a global school in a local community?

P40: For me it means that I know what's going on in the world, so finding out more about what happens will help me in the future as I can put a stop to it and make everyone else's living better.

This was also reminiscent of a comment by the Head Teacher:

We're looking then to realise, gosh, I am actually very lucky and what can I give to other people (Head Teacher, 29.06.12).

While I do not wish to detract from these heartfelt sentiments, Dobson (2006) argues that the emphasis on moral responsibility based on common humanity because we should or we can obscures a much more powerful basis for responsibility, that based on causal connection and our 'implicatedness' in others' suffering.

Although charities vary widely in their approach and many do extremely valuable work, particularly in the short term, there is a growing body of work challenging this moral agenda from postcolonial and post-development perspectives (Bruce 2013; Gronemeyer 1992; Heron 2007; Jefferess 2008). Firstly, the helping agenda is paternalistic. By positioning the student in a position of power, of being able to make a difference and solve poverty it reinforces notions of the Northern student as able and

capable of making a difference, while the Southern 'poor person' is often portrayed as a passive victim who is not asked about what he or she needs but is given assistance.

Secondly, the helping agenda at Castle School emphasised the solutions to poverty rather than the complex causes. These solutions were defined in Western terms, implying that there one "right road" as illustrated in the student quote on page 156. It also encouraged simplistic thinking about the solutions to poverty. When asked what she hoped students would learn from the fundraising initiatives, the charity co-ordinator responded that, "the price of just one mars bar can keep someone alive for one month". All she wants is for the students "to give up one or two mars bars" (Charity Co-ordinator, 11.05.12). Fundraising portrays charity as a 'quick-fix' solution to what is actually a very complex process (Smith 2004b). Students want to feel that they are helping because it is a good and moral thing to do rather than because they are implicated in the production of poverty through their historical and contemporary consumption habits.

Given the strength of the moral imperative surrounding helping and giving to charity, it was difficult to engage critically with this discourse at Castle School. This research illustrates a number of critical and questioning voices in the school in relation to charitable initiatives. However, these were often not voiced explicitly due to the strength of the moral imperative. On a number of occasions, I noted difficulties for members of the school community in saying anything critical about charity work because it is seen to be morally good and therefore somehow beyond question. For example, when speaking to one of the parents about her views of GCE in the school, she was critical of the charity initiatives and the way her children sometimes pressure her to give to charity. When talking to me she was very careful to couch her criticism in positive terms and to praise the good charitable work of the school. Her underlying tone, however, was much more critical and throughout the interview she raised questions about where the money is going and how it is being used, suggesting that her children should be aware of these wider issues.

And I object to, obviously charities are doing great work, don't get me wrong, because I don't do charity work so I'm in awe of people who do, but if I am going to give money I want to know that it's getting to the right people... It seems to be all about money rather than the end result – where the money's going and how it's used. So I kind of make my kids aware of that, and again, it's good at the school that they do the charitable giving (Parent One, 25.04.12).

A similar comment was made by one of the students in a focus group discussion. In the extract below, she questions why there is still so much poverty despite the huge number of charities. She phrases this critique incredibly carefully, cautious to ensure that her words are not interpreted as implying that giving to charity is a waste of money or that it does not make any difference. Yet, her tone is critical and she raises an interesting point about the wider role of charity.

I just don't get like...there's so many charities and so much money is given to people but it still doesn't seem to help out that much. It's still the same. So sometimes it's like, not a waste of money obviously, because it's not, but sometimes it feels like it's not helping even though it is really, but like not much, not a big change (Y9 Student, 16.03.12).

These examples suggest that it is difficult to engage critically with charities, to question the broader role of charities, why charities exist, what causes the underlying problems, how the charity operates and how it ensures that local people are respected and included in decisions that affect them. During observations at the school, these questions received very little critical engagement. Yet, as others have found (Tallon 2012a), many students at Castle School had questions about charity and aid. This is an extract from my fieldnotes made during an observation of a Y9 Geography class, the introductory lesson to a unit on development 80:20.

Fieldnotes 29.02.12: The students seemed to have a lot of questions around fundraising, charity and aid and were really enthusiastic about the topic. There were lots of digressions as the students asked questions. One pupil asked, "Is it true that often the money we give doesn't get to the poor people?" His teacher replied, "Yeah, those countries often have corrupt governments". Another girl commented, "I don't mean it in a bad way, but we have poor people here too and most of the money gets sent abroad". The teacher responded, "Yeah, you're right", and mentioned Children in Need as a fundraising event where all the proceeds are spent in the UK. This prompted another question from a third pupil: "Can't we make sure it gets there?" Again, the teacher explained that sometimes we send food or clothes rather than money. Lots of pupils then started talking about shoeboxes. I was struck by their interest and enthusiasm for the topic.

Many issues were raised in this lesson including the perception that corruption is the main issue with charitable donations and aid and that sending food or clothes rather than money is a way of avoiding this problem. However, this does not address other issues such as whether the food/clothes are useful and does not encourage wider questioning about how charities work or the importance of consulting with local

Chapter Six

people. Nevertheless, the level of interest in Castle School suggests that there is significant scope for greater discussion and debate in school about charitable initiatives and ideas about helping. Rather than dismiss charity work out of hand, replacing one simplistic response (i.e. giving to charity is good), with another (i.e. giving to charity is bad), which seems to be a danger following the recent uptake of CGCE and the shift away from a 'charity-mentality' towards one based on social justice (for example in the GLP), there is a need for discussion about the role of charities within schools and the potential pros and cons of different charitable initiatives.

Speaking up, speaking out

Another strong moral agenda at Castle School was the idea of challenging prejudice, most clearly expressed through the slogan, 'speak up, speak out'. This slogan was drawn from the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust's (HMDT) 2012 vision for Holocaust Memorial Day and was adopted in the school as the theme for the Y9 Holocaust Day described in chapter five. It emphasises that "each of us has a voice and a choice to use it" (HMDT 2012). This theme was developed throughout Y9 Holocaust Day with an emphasis on individual choices. At the end of the day in the final assembly, students were asked to reflect upon whether they have the strength, courage and bravery to stand up and speak out (Fieldnotes, 25.04.12).

The theme of speaking up and speaking out was also evident in the school's anti-bullying policy. The poster below was displayed on the notice board of each tutor group, reminding pupils that, "if you witness someone being bullied, tell somebody. If you don't, you could be part of the bullying yourself".

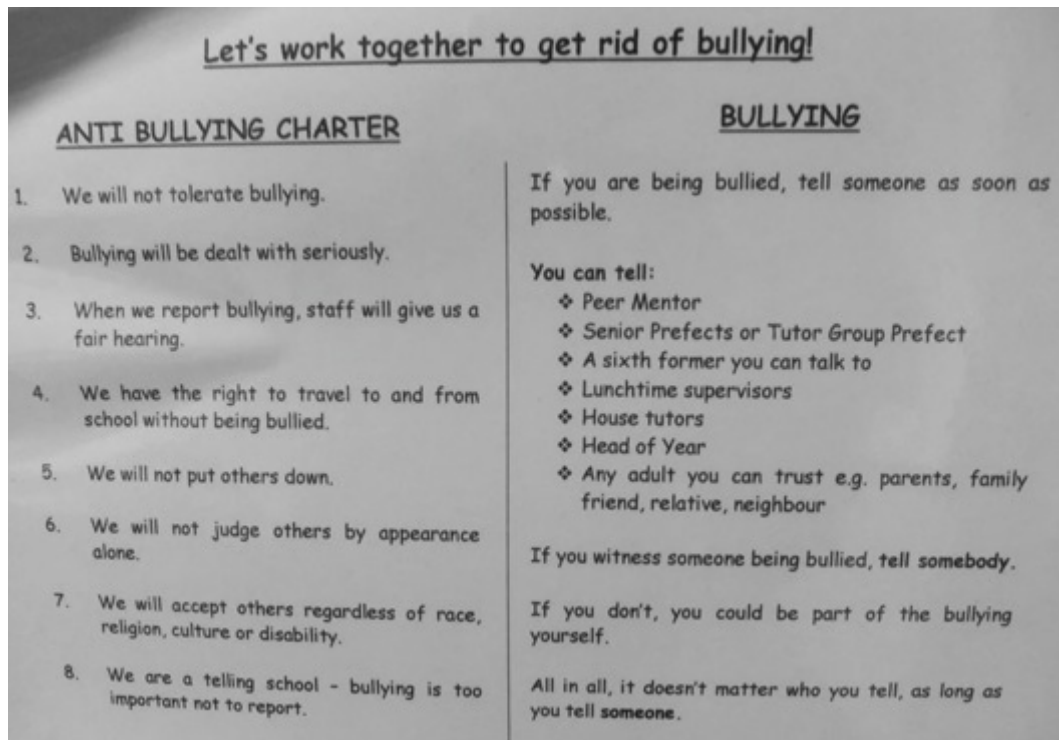


Figure 10: Castle School's Anti-bullying Policy

This message had a clear impact upon the students. One student commented that she had learned not to just stand back and let things happen (Y9 Student, Fieldnotes, 23.05.12). This approach of speaking out is often seen as what is needed in order to challenge structural forms of injustice and I would not disagree. However, when speaking up, speaking out is accepted as a moral imperative and not critically examined or based on informed decision-making, it can contribute to problems.

For example, the Kony 2012 campaign took part during the fieldwork period. Kony 2012 is a short film produced by the American charity, Invisible Children, released in March 2012. It documents the atrocities committed by Ugandan warlord and leader of the Lords Resistance Army (LRA), Joseph Kony, indicted for crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court in the Hague. Using the horrific experience of one child soldier, the film aims to create global awareness of the LRA's atrocities and pressure international governments to support regional efforts to stop the LRA (Invisible Children no date). Part of the campaign called for supporters to share the film and put up posters on April 20th 2012 as part of its 'Cover the Night' campaign. It was targeted specifically at young people and went viral on social media sites, with reports of over 35 million hits less than one week after it was released (Dailey 2012).

The campaign touched many students at Castle School, particularly sixth formers. Many students talked about how they had seen the video and wanted to take part in

Chapter Six

the 'Cover the Night' campaign in their local town. There was a strong moral element to being involved with the campaign. One student explained why she thought Invisible Children had taken up the LRA cause, because it was "the right thing to do":

For Joseph Kony, it doesn't really affect America at all but they want to get involved because it's the right thing to do and that's what made it global.
(Y12 Student, 13.03.12)

The Head Teacher recalled how groups of students came to see him to ask if they could do an assembly about Joseph Kony.

I had kids saying can we do assemblies on this sir? People need to know how appalling this is. Wow, yes, of course you can. Brilliant stuff. And that's the sort of student that we are creating. So I had these five girls talked to me about that and then I had lots of others start coming in and talking about it as well. So they are aware and it is working (Head Teacher, 29.06.12).

The HGP Co-ordinator also posted a series of links on the online discussion boards, linking the campaign to the idea of Speak Up, Speak Out and 'doing the thing that you can do', a phrase that came from one of the HGP reading group books, *I learned a New Word Today* (Hankins 2009).

This is amazing stuff, definitely an example of 'doing the thing that you can do'. An interesting concept of spreading the word (HGP Co-ordinator, 10.03.12)

However, the campaign was met with much criticism. Critics argued that Invisible Children's portrayal of the conflict in Uganda was simplistic and the solution they called for superficial, ignoring the complex social and political causes of the long-standing conflict. Kalinaki (2012) traces the roots of the LRA rebellion to long years of colonialism and dictatorship. Anti-civilian attacks were committed by both the LRA and the Ugandan government fuelled by Western donors and aid agencies (Branch 2012). The film does not capture this complexity, instead relying on outdated information which lacks context (Moore 2012). Branch (2012) explains that Kony no longer operates in Uganda but in the Central African Republic, although problems of structural violence do continue in Northern Uganda (Branch 2012).

Critics have also questioned the appropriateness of a military intervention in Uganda (Wegner 2012), suggesting instead that this is likely to delay any peace agreement in the region and undermine regional efforts at peace (Little 2012). The

campaign was also criticised for portraying the American protagonist as a hero and prioritising the moral satisfaction of Western youth over the wellbeing of those it seeks to support in Central Africa (Gordon 2012; Menefee-Libey 2012; Moore 2012). Hamilton (2012) describes how Kony 2012,

...relies on an over-simplified, emotion-laden narrative to convince people that by doing easy tasks — sharing a link on facebook, buying a bracelet — they can save lives. Central to the formula is the agency of local activists gets downplayed in order to hype up the necessity of action by outsiders (Hamilton 2012: 119-120).

In doing so, the campaign suggests that expertise comes from emotional engagement and personal risk-taking rather than from knowledge or practical experience (Cronin-Furman and Taub 2012). It is not directly connected to the lived experience of people in Central Africa and implies that on-going conflict can be solved without in-depth knowledge or careful thinking (Menefee-Libey 2012). Finally, critics have questioned how a multi-million pound global awareness raising campaign can translate into change overseas, particularly change which will address years of colonialism, exploitation and weak governance that allowed Kony to come to power in the first place (Cronin-Furman and Taub 2012; Menefee-Libey 2012).

This is not to suggest that nothing should be done in the face of horrific crimes against humanity but to question the simplification employed in the Kony 2012 campaign and the danger of drawing on the moral agency of Western youth rather than encouraging critical engagement with what is a complex issue. It demonstrates what can happen when moral agendas are prioritised above critical engagement. These criticisms were identified by staff at Castle School. For example, the HGP Co-ordinator posted a follow up in the online discussion thread, urging the students to come to their own informed conclusions about the Kony 2012 campaign.

The Kony 2012 campaign is met with a complex and very strong reaction. The issue is not clear cut. The issues are not simplistic. The issue demands careful thought and so you have to responsibly decide; based upon wide reading, what you think about it.... As young people grappling with the complexities of issues surrounding genocide, prejudice, injustice, human rights, conflict, peace-keeping, reconciliation and activism you have to take a stand — and I would always encourage you to do so — when you feel compelled by a cause. You have to be informed. You have to read widely, learn and understand the issues and once your research has led you to a conclusion you have to act (HGP Co-ordinator, 15.03.12).

Chapter Six

However, while some students also recognised that the Kony 2012 campaign had been designed to shock them (Y12 Student, 28.03.12), other teachers and students maintained an uncritical acceptance of the campaign.

I think that Kony 2012 was a really good example of somebody using technology to inspire young people. It's interesting because the Kony 2012 thing, there was a day in May, the beginning of May where overnight everyone was supposed to put posters up everywhere. I don't know about you but I didn't actually see any of them. So after the initial kind of we should all do something about this, people could post the link on their facebook but I still think we live in a world where when it actually comes to doing something, going out and putting up posters, doing something illegal but that actually might get people talking, they don't do that. (English Teacher, 30.05.12)

This section has illustrated how the moral imperatives within society to help others, to raise money for charity and to support campaigns can lead to an uncritical engagement with global issues including poverty and conflict. The strength of moral ideas about 'right' and 'wrong' sometimes get in the way of discussion. Although poverty and violence are morally wrong, their solution inevitably requires carefully thinking and long-term collective action rather than simple individual actions. This is, however, a difficult balance to strike without disempowering and depressing students who are passionate about making a difference. This tension will be discussed further below in the section on student wellbeing.

Cultural Global Citizenship

Closely linked to moral global citizenship are agendas of cultural tolerance, respect and valuing diversity. During conversations and interviews, many teachers talked about how they hoped "to create a more tolerant society" (Head Teacher, 29.06.12), "to bring about moral awareness and tolerance" (RE Teacher, 22.06.12). Parents too wanted their children "to have an understanding of other cultures" and "have more tolerance of other people's religions and the way they live" (Parent Three, 09.05.12). Students also felt that respect for diversity, tolerance and unity was important:

If you're taught at school to embrace the global community around you, I don't know, I just think it helps you become a tolerant person (Y12 Student, 28.03.12).

I think a greater understanding of the diverse components that constitute the globe along with cementing values of equality and respect among all people – by working for and alongside people from other countries,

greater international tolerance could easily be achieved (Y12 Student, 10.07.12)

I think it [photograph of the entrance to the sixth form] just shows like unity and I think that's something that people are trying to promote so I thought that was like a global issue because of fighting and we should have unity (Y12 Student, 27.03.12)

Others talked about the importance of valuing diversity and “the variation of human life” (Head Teacher, 29.06.12). This extract elaborates further on the importance of cultural understanding:

And I actually think it's important to do that because like I said before, you look at the Syrians and the people there and think they're different to me, they live a million miles away, they're totally different, they don't have a life like mine. But then they come into school and there may be Syrian students in school, well then, how to they treat them as a result, do they look at them and say oh your country is treating people like this, you must also be violent, a terrorist or a rebel uprising against and then I think almost making them care and see issues like Syria or Uganda as something that's worth fighting for is not the right phrase, but I think you know what I mean (English Teacher, 30.05.12)

The importance of tolerance and valuing diversity was also reiterated in this poster displayed in the school's main corridor.

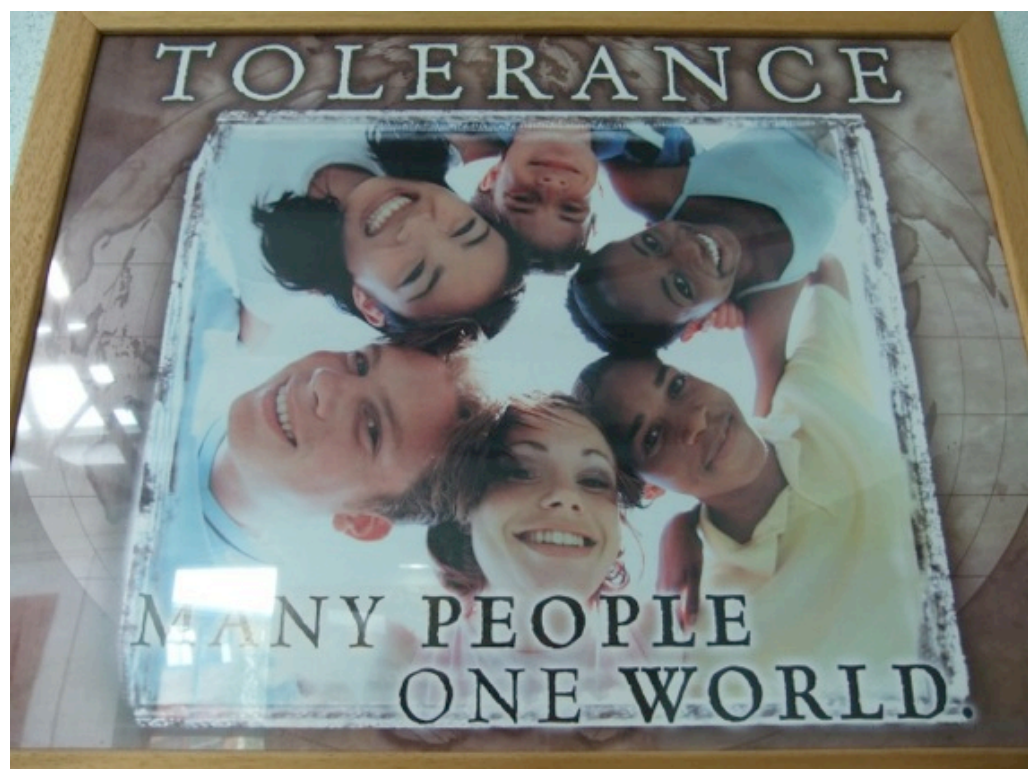


Figure 11: Poster Displayed on Castle School's Main Corridor

Chapter Six

As well as tolerance, members of the school community also talked about unity, equality and co-operation. Equality was often associated with belonging to the world and sharing the resources within the world.

The school appears to envisage a “global citizen” as one that has a clear understanding of the differences and difficulties faced by the huge range of countries and cultures in our globe (Y12 Student, 10.07.12).

Because the very nature of internationalism is cooperation and working with others (Assistant Head, 29.02.12).

This emphasis on creating a tolerant and equal society at Castle School was perceived to be particularly important given the largely mono-cultural, white middle class community which the school serves. Teachers saw GCE as an important part of bringing students out of their bubble and broadening their horizons.

I want them to have a greater awareness of other cultures and things like prejudices. Because we’re a fairly white middle class school, lots of them don’t really come across any other types of cultures or nationalities or religions. I mean obviously we do have a small minority but some of them do have quite prejudiced views I think (Geography Teacher, 26.04.12).

But I think students need to be aware of what’s going on in the wider world because they live in quite a small community and sometimes they can get, not obsessed, but kind of not aware of what’s around them and what’s going on in the world (RE Teacher, 22.06.12).

Parents too expressed similar ideas:

And well, the cultural difference thing. I mean when my son first started at primary school there were very few people of different ethnic minority in the town. He’s now nineteen, so just fifteen years on, it has changed enormously during that time. And you need to appreciate these people who do certain things because of their culture and it’s good for the children to understand so they can be more tolerant of them (Parent Four, 13.06.12).

But yeah, definitely to have an understanding of other cultures, and perhaps through understanding, have more tolerance of other people’s religions and the way they live (Parent Three, 09.05.12).

This emphasis on tolerance, diversity and respect for other cultures is reflected in the approach taken by the school, especially in the school linking and enrichment week activities described in chapter five. The dominance of cultural interpretations of GCE has been well documented in the literature (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Davies *et al.* 2005;

Edge *et al.* 2009; Hunt 2012; Mannion *et al.* 2011). It also mirrors ideas about multiculturalism as the prevailing political approach to citizenship education within Britain which promotes inclusion and community cohesion (DfCSF 2007; Faas 2011). The DfCSF (2007: 3) describes community cohesion as:

By community cohesion, we mean working towards a society in which there is a common vision and sense of belonging by all communities; a society in which the diversity of people's backgrounds and circumstances is appreciated and valued; a society in which similar life opportunities are available to all; and a society in which strong and positive relationships exist and continue to be developed in the workplace, in schools and in the wider community.

However, without dismissing the importance of positive attitudes toward others, critics have argued that an emphasis on assimilation risks ignoring important differences between groups, especially when what is chosen as similar is decided by the dominant group (Banks 2008; Martin 2012). Similarly, celebratory approaches of difference are also critiqued for tokenising minorities and emphasising superficial and neutral differences between cultures (Eidoo *et al.* 2011; Martin 2012).

Standish (2012: 182) argues that "values of diversity, tolerance, empathy, participation or being a "global citizen" all avoid asking difficult questions about which ideas and cultural practices are better than others". Tolerance prioritises passive co-existence rather than dialogue and deliberation across difference (Banks 2008; Faas 2011). Consequently it does not enable students to understand their multiple and complex identities or their shifting relationships with difference. This was evident in the enrichment week and linking initiatives at Castle School which prioritised celebratory approaches to difference rather than one based on interaction and deliberation such as the English lessons on the *Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*. Thus, like the economic and moral agendas described above, the strength of the cultural agenda of multiculturalism can limit the potential for critical engagement with difference.

This section has illustrated empirically a number of instrumental agendas associated with GCE at Castle School: economic, moral and cultural. It provides empirical evidence to illustrate how they play out within one school and how a number of other actors including global corporations, government departments, NGOs and the media are involved in the construction and maintenance of these agendas. In relation to Castle School I have illustrated the role played by global investment bank, JP Morgan, government departments and discourses of economic standing and active citizenship,

as well as NGOs including Water for Malawi, Invisible Children and the Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, and media including video campaign Kony 2012.

I have also demonstrated how difficult it is to engage critically with these agendas, many of which draw upon common sense assumptions about the global economy, the morality of helping and speaking out, and the importance of cultural tolerance and understanding. However, as Lambert (2013: 92) explains, education should be about enabling students to understand the world in ways that are not readily available in the everyday, or at the level of common sense. It is about “taking children and young people from the familiar to the unfamiliar, from the known to the unknown and sometimes from the comfortable to the uncomfortable” (Lambert 2013: 91). It is therefore important to find ways to engage with these agendas.

I now turn to consider how GCE intersects with other agendas within the school, in relation to school reputation, ensuring good examination results, producing well-rounded students, student wellbeing and empowerment, and inclusion. I suggest that the instrumental agendas described here need to be taken seriously because they are used to justify GCE in relation to the wider concerns of the school. This is part of their common-sense appeal.

GCE and School Agendas

Although GCE was seen as important within Castle School, it was definitely not the only concern for teachers, students and their parents. In the previous section I already pointed to parents’ concerns about the future employment chances of their children. This section broadens out the analysis in order to explore how GCE sits alongside and intersects with other agendas within the school. Agendas such as school reputation, examination results, producing well-rounded people, students’ wellbeing and student empowerment are discussed in relation to how they shape GCE at Castle School. I argue that GCE is justified in relation to the pre-existing agendas within the school which are closely linked to the instrumental agendas described above.

Sterling (2001: 25) writes that most education systems are multifunctional, reflecting a mix of aims and objectives. He identifies four main, often contradictory, functions:

- Socialisation function – to reproduce society and promote citizenship
- Vocational function – to prepare and train people for employment

- Liberal function – to develop the individual to fulfil his/her potential
- Transformative function – to foster change towards a better world

Drawing on this typology, this section identifies the main functions as described at Castle School, indicating how they are linked to GCE.

School Reputation

The Head Teacher noted that 'global' is a "trendy term" (Head Teacher, 29.02.12) and in this sense, being a 'global school in a local community' was closely connected to concerns around the school's image and reputation. There was some acknowledgement amongst teachers and parents that GCE activities provide a "nice high profile for the school locally, press and publicity" (Assistant Head, 29.02.12) and the tag line is "a bit of a strap line to sort of sell the place a little bit" (Parent Two, 03.05.12). The Head Teacher talked about his initial scepticism of strap lines and mission statements but admitted that,

every time I talk to anyone, whether I talk at open evenings or to prospective parents at the start of the year, welcome to Castle School, a global school in a local community, first words out of my mouth. And then I go on to talk about what does a global school mean, why with the local community and I think that is the key that will keep it driving and it means that it [GCE] can't stop doesn't it... (Head Teacher, 29.06.12).

Similarly, the school was also concerned to portray a good image internationally. Although not noted explicitly, I got a sense that the Singaporean visit described in chapter five had been carefully planned in order to create a good impression of the school. This was evident in the way that certain 'good' students were selected to take part because "they're the drama kids the ones I chose and they'll usually talk to anything" (Drama Teacher, 22.06.12). The day also consisted of a special programme of drama, music and poetry activities designed to give the Singaporean students a taste of how these subjects are taught in the England rather than enabling the students to attend 'real' lessons as they had requested in feedback from the previous year (Feedback, 17.06.11). I would suggest that the day had, at least in part, been put together to create a good impression of Castle School rather than with any GCE objectives in mind such as facilitating open discussion and dialogue between students from different backgrounds.

Chapter Six

Furthermore, in an interview, the Assistant Head highlighted that Ofsted now look at what else a school is able to offer students beyond teaching, learning and school leadership provision.

I mean Ofsted...there is a sort of element of looking at what else schools offer their students other than teaching, learning and school leadership and provision (Assistant Head, 29.02.12).

As outlined in chapter three, although Ofsted do not directly assess GCE provision, they do assess the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of students and GCE has been demonstrated to contribute to this as well as the other inspection criteria (Oxfam 2012). Castle School's international and global activities were indeed praised in its latest Ofsted report, which reported that students "become very well acquainted with the world beyond the school gates" and "have the opportunity to work with others around the world through a burgeoning international programme" (Ofsted 2010: 5). Part of a school's image and reputation is therefore linked to GCE.

Examination Results

In the neoliberal economic system, qualifications and credentials are attributed high importance since they are perceived to enable students to go on to acquire good jobs as well as upholding the reputation of the school in an era of standardised testing (Brown 2003; Lauder *et al.* 2012b; Rizvi and Lingard 2010). This was recognised by the Head Teacher who noted, "we have a job here where we have to get the students results" (29.06.12). In 2012, 57% of pupils at Castle School achieved five GCSEs A*-C including English and Maths (School Website, 2012), which was very close to the national average of 58.6% (DfE 2012).

For the SLT, GCE was linked to this job of getting student results. During the IE Co-ordinator interviews, the SLT at Castle School suggested that GCE helps to raise standards across the curriculum. They felt that it would be difficult to measure this impact (Fieldnotes, 23.11.11) but attributed it to the way in which GCE makes learning more meaningful and enjoyable for students.

I think it's a key part of why we're so successful because actually it motivates the students and keeps them interested and keeps them aware... It would be a difficult case to prove that. [CB: Yes]. However, I do think it has a massive influence on why we're so successful as a school (Head Teacher, 29.06.12).

The Assistant Head also elaborated upon the link between GCE and making learning meaningful and engaging in an interview.

I think that element of making learning fun and engaging kids which is kind of at the heart of the battle we have in education every day. It's giving some sort of meaning and purpose to what they're doing. ... So if you're learning French in a classroom and it's abstract and you're learning irregular verbs, you will be switched off. Even the most dynamic, charismatic teacher needs to have some tricks to keep you. But if you are using that language on a video conference with a French partner school, or some French kids come into your school, or you're putting a play together, or you're gonna have to put together some rules of football using only French and suddenly that becomes a much more engaging element to what you're doing. So I think the engagement of the student is at the heart" (Assistant Head, 29.02.12).

The way in which GCE can make learning meaningful and engaging for students was noted during observations of the Holocaust and Genocide Programme (HGP) during which students who were sometimes disruptive became absorbed in their work, asking careful and thoughtful questions about the topic (Fieldnotes, 25.04.12). Comments from students also suggested that they enjoy learning about topics such as the Holocaust (Fieldnotes 06.07.11). For example, "an important experience for me was the Holocaust days and any Holocaust survivor talks because it allowed us to empathise and sympathise and gave us an understanding on genocide" (Y9 Reflection Activity, 16.07.12).

The idea that GCE contributes to academic attainment is supported by research conducted by Think Global (2011a). In a small qualitative research study of 24 teachers and headteachers, the majority agreed that GCE increases student interest in education and improves behaviour, thereby having an indirect impact on student exam results. While the SLT were careful to position GCE as not only about examination results or school reputation, the Assistant Head noted that this is the sort of message that will speak to Head Teachers under pressure (29.02.12).

Producing Well-Rounded People

Alongside academic excellence, Castle School prided itself on its holistic approach to developing the whole person and producing well-rounded individuals. This focus on facilitating the personal growth and individual development of students is similar to

Chapter Six

the liberal function of education in Sterling's (2001) typology above. This idea was made explicit during a formal interview with the Head Teacher:

We have a job here where we have to get the students results but we also have to sort out the person and produce, it's not a good word is it, but a nice person (Head Teacher, 29.06.12).

For other teachers, parents and some students it was about a 'well-rounded' person as these extracts demonstrate.

It's kind of as I say, providing a round curriculum...making it well-rounded to produce a well-rounded individual (Music Teacher, 24.05.12)

We're after well-rounded young people who can be mature and responsible, out in the community, the global citizens of the future...We don't want our students to be educated, not simply qualifications alone. We want a well-rounded, educated, mature, responsible, empathetic citizen of the future who can make a difference and who does care about others (HGP Co-ordinator, 03.10.12).

It's teaching them the attitudes and the values as well as just being not clever, oh I call it clever kids but you know what I mean. They do everything. It's an all-rounder and I think that's what we need (Drama Teacher, 22.06.12).

It makes you into a better person really, being able to go out into the world after you've finished school, after you've finished university, and be aware of what goes on in the world and what happens. [P2:Broadening your horizons really] Yeah, making you a better person, more rounded, more aware of issues that go on (Y12 Discussion Group, 28.03.12).

These quotes begin to show how a well-rounded individual is envisaged: someone who is knowledgeable, responsible, empathetic, caring and able to make a difference. Others talked about students who are confident (Assistant Head, 29.02.12), students who "get on in life and get on with people and get on with anyone" (Head Teacher, 29.02.12) while parents talked about "caring, sharing, being a good responsible person, taking care of things, not being wasteful, trying to think of the impact of whatever you do" (Parent Two, 03.05.12).

The idea of creating or producing a well-rounded person was often expressed through the language of the IB learner profile, which sees the goal of education as to produce learners who are inquirers, knowledgeable, thinkers, communicators, principled, open-minded, caring, risk-takers, balanced and reflective (IBO 2008). Although Castle School no longer offers the IB to sixth form students, they continue to use the IB learner profile

in curriculum development and the profile is displayed in many classrooms around the school. When talking about GCE, several teachers referred to the characteristics described in the profile.

I think another element for me and this is the bit that I've always been more focused on, is what it does to actually develop that whole learning and if you look at the IB learner profile and you think, how to get a student to be a risk-taker, to be a confident learner, to be reflective, to be caring and knowledgeable and I think that's what global learning is doing (Assistant Head Teacher, 29.02.12).

I want something that's much more holistic about them. I want to see people engaging and developing in issues that they wouldn't otherwise do. I want them thinking about values. I want them risk-taking in terms of putting themselves in positions that they wouldn't otherwise do. (HGP Co-ordinator, 23.05.11).

We aim that our students develop personally and academically throughout their time with us. We encourage them to become;

- **Inquirers** - developing their natural curiosity and gaining increasing independence in learning.
- **Knowledgeable** - exploring concepts, ideas and issues that have local and global significance, gaining in-depth knowledge and understanding across a broad and balanced range of disciplines.
- **Thinkers** - harnessing their initiative in applying thinking skills critically and creatively.
- **Communicators** - expressing ideas and information confidently and creatively, working effectively and willingly in collaboration with others.
- **Principled** - acting with integrity and honesty, with a strong sense of fairness, justice and respect for others, taking responsibility for their own actions.
- **Open-minded** - seeking and evaluating a range of points of view, and are willing to grow from the experience.
- **Caring** - showing empathy, compassion and respect towards the needs and feelings of others.
- **Risk-takers** - approaching unfamiliar situations and uncertainty with courage and forethought.
- **Balanced** - understanding the importance of intellectual, physical and emotional balance to achieve personal well-being for themselves and others.
- **Reflective** - giving thoughtful consideration to their own learning and experience.

(School Prospectus, 2011)

Figure 12: Extract from Castle School's Prospectus

The text box above is an extract from the school prospectus which shows how the school is adopting and adapting the IB learner profile to prioritise the personal development of students with a focus on knowledge and skills but also values and attitudes. This agenda was closely associated with the moral imperative of GCE especially the programme of charitable giving within the school.

Chapter Six

My personal big big thing is that I want people leaving here who will give to society and will not take. You know, it's very easy to be a taker and do nothing else, and ultimately our aim is to try to create people who will give and who would be a pleasure to have in your workforce and be a pleasure to be around. And I think the whole global picture plays a huge part in that (Head Teacher, 29.02.12).

Student Wellbeing and Empowerment

A further concern for teachers when addressing global issues with students was their responsibility to protect student wellbeing. This is linked in part to the Every Child Matters (ECM) agenda. ECM was a multi-agent government programme launched in 2003 in response to the death of Victoria Climbié¹⁰. It aims to create an environment in which every child can be healthy, safe, can enjoy and achieve, can make a positive contribution and achieve economic well-being. This agenda was taken seriously by Castle School. The following extract from an interview with the HGP co-ordinator illustrates her concerns about protecting students and keeping them safe:

So when we had the survivor speak in you're always a little bit, you know, how's this going to go and what images do you show and don't you. So there's that side of things (HGP Co-ordinator, 23.05.11).

Other teachers also expressed the sense of responsibility they felt to protect students from being overwhelmed by the number and scale of issues demanding their attention.

I think as well, the school's responsibility is to almost help young people filter what they do care about because there's obviously so much going on in the world. Not just talking about genocides and civil wars, but environmental issues as well. How do you know what to care about the most? And I think that can sometimes be quite overwhelming. And I think things that we do, even this red and green day that's coming up, raising money, there's three different charities and the kids can choose which charity they're going to contribute to (English Teacher, 30.05.12).

This sentiment about empowerment and choice is echoed in this poster about citizenship which is displayed in the main corridor: "we can't help everyone, but everyone can help someone".

¹⁰ In 2000, Victoria Climbié died due to maltreatment by her carers and guardians. The public inquiry following her death led to considerable changes to the child protection policy in the UK, including Every Child Matters.



Figure 13: Poster Displayed on Castle School's Main Corridor

The English Teacher went on to explain that part of protecting students from feeling overwhelmed is about fostering a sense of agency amongst students and giving them the opportunity to feel as though they have done something and made a positive difference.

We've done similar days for bigger charities such as after the Japanese earthquake, tsunami, we had a Japanese day, a J-day, and I don't think there was one child in the whole school who did not do something, whether that was making cakes, doing some kind of activity or dressing up and we raised so much money. And therefore the kids felt that they had done something. And I think as a school it's about giving them the opportunity to feel that they have and then they can say, well I have done something, I haven't just watched it on the news and gone I care about that but not enough (English Teacher, 30.05.12).

Bryan and Bracken (2011) too point to the responsibilities that teachers feel to empower their students. While this may be important, from a CGCE perspective, it meant that the emphasis was on the individual students rather than the issues that the students sought to address.

Chapter Six

For example, Water for Malawi ran a 'pick-a-project' scheme in which the school and individual tutor groups were given a choice about which project they would like to support with the money raised through non-uniform day. They could choose between digging wells, educating girls, or providing breakfast to children in a crèche. An information sheet from the charity explains, "It's easy: you pick from a list of projects, fund it yourself or with others, see the impact, get the pictures, see the smiling faces, feel their joy, exchange letters or maybe even talk on skype, enjoy making a difference" (Water for Life Information Sheet, 2012). This information sheet is clearly written with the donor in mind with little consideration as to what the people in Malawi need or would like or how they feel about being helped in this way. It gives the students the feeling of being in control and being able to decide what happens to the money they have donated. However, in doing so, it takes away power from the passive Malawian's and does not encourage students to think about things from other perspectives (Andreotti 2006b).

This discourse encouraged the students to see themselves in a powerful position. Many students were curious about where the money that they raise goes and how it is being spent. During the Y9 self-moderated discussion groups, many students raised this issue and expressed a desire to travel to Malawi. This notion is reinforced by common ideas about volunteering abroad in the media and further positions the students into a position of power/opportunity.

P14: I'd like to see where the money goes actually.

CB: Why's that?

P14: Because we always hear about the starving people but it doesn't show us what happens once it...where your money goes. For all we know it could go to drug dealers [laughter]. Sorry. I think it would actually be good to go and see it. I think that's why we do the Water for Malawi thing where you actually see what happens and what's changed and I think I'd like to do that.

This example demonstrates how the focus on student wellbeing and empowerment within the school prevents critical engagement with discourses around helping and making a difference.

Furthermore, in a Y9 Geography lesson on "what can be done to help poverty" (Lesson Plan, February 2012), students were asked to design their own Make Poverty History (MPH) style fundraising campaign. This activity was consistent with the *Horizons 3*

textbook approach which encouraged students to take part in fundraising activities (Gardner *et al.* 2006). The teacher introduced the MPH campaign, explaining that it was a world-wide campaign that started in 2005. “There was a big concert to raise awareness of poverty and lots of money was raised, but since then there hasn’t been much publicity and it’s faded away in people’s memories”. She showed the class the official YouTube video clip which features celebrities clicking their fingers, demonstrating how a child dies every second due to poverty, with every click. The film ended with the message “You can change the world” (MPH 2005). She then introduced the new task. In groups of four or five, the students were asked “to come up with a new MPH campaign to renew public interest”. Their campaigns should have: a slogan, a manifesto – list of issues, e.g. reducing debt, AIDS etc., a storyboard for a film to capture the public’s imagination, three events to raise public awareness (e.g. concert, sporting event), and an item of clothing (e.g. wristbands, t-shirts) (Fieldnotes, 21.03.12).

The students came up with a range of campaigns. One group came up with Drip Poverty Dry, which involved raising money to build wells so that everyone has access to clean water. Another group invented AIDSAid, a revolutionary new drink, the sales from which would raise money to combat AIDS. A third group put together an awareness raising campaign about safe sex, designed to educate people in Africa about AIDS (Fieldnotes, 21.03.12). While the activity proved enjoyable and engaging for most of the groups, the MPH campaign has been subject to criticism for failing to engage with the underlying causes of poverty (Andreotti 2006b; Nash 2008). The campaign was designed and executed in the North with little consultation with local people. It promotes simplistic solutions to poverty and a reliance on capitalist products (Jefferess 2012a). In the lesson, there was no discussion about the pros and cons of the MPH campaign. Rather MPH presents an uncritical example of “what can be done to help poverty”. It seemed to send the message that solving poverty is simple. You do not need any specialist knowledge about water issues or AIDS and a campaign can be put together by a group of 14-year-old students in a one hour Geography lesson. This could be seen as an example of “obedient activism” in which students unthinkingly carry out pre-designed activities (Bryan and Bracken 2011). It runs in contrast to the kind of ‘action’ described in the framework in chapter two, where action should be conscious, considered and targeted towards the causes of a problem (not symptoms) i.e. intentional (Jensen and Schnack 1997).

Chapter Six

Thus, the focus on student wellbeing and empowerment seems to come into conflict with the goals of critical engagement and considered responsible action. It is important to appreciate this tension from the teachers' perspective: they clearly want the best for their students, and need support engage their students in ways which allow them to protect student wellbeing and does not disempower or depress their students.

This section has outlined the wider functions of schooling at Castle School and illustrated how they shape the form of GCE. In particular, the economic agenda of GCE is used to justify how GCE contributes to the school's wider reputation and examination results, while the moral and cultural agendas of GCE contribute towards the school's aims of producing well-rounded people, empowering young people and supporting student wellbeing. For members of the school community there was little explicit tension between these agendas. This is a conversation with the Head Teacher:

CB: In terms of the aims, you mentioned twin aims in terms of encouraging tolerance and understanding of cultural difference, cultural diversity on the one side, and then getting students to understand that it's now a competitive world and a competitive global economy.

Head: Yes, yes, very different.

CB: Would you say that there are any tensions of difficulties between those two aims for you?

Head: No. No, I don't at all.

...

Head: It's just so important that you produce a person who will be able to...get on with people and get on with anyone, as well as having the drive and ambition. So that's where the two aspects sit and I don't see them as clashing

(Head Teacher, 29.06.12)

This extract shows how the Head Teacher uses the personal development of students as a way of reconciling the different aims of the school, where students can be prepared for a role in the global economy whilst playing a role in challenging prejudice in order to contribute to a better world. This emphasis on the personal development of students seems to act as a bridge between the other functions within the school.

However, this chapter has illustrated how the economic, moral and cultural agendas which are so dominant within the school and are used to justify GCE, are actually in tension with CGCE. This is illustrated in the model below.



Figure 14: Model of the Tensions between Critical Global Citizenship Education and Economic, Moral and Cultural Instrumental Agendas

The arrows illustrate the tensions between the instrumental agendas of CGCE as these are set in context within the wider functions of schooling.

Conclusion

Despite this potential for CGCE and the expressions of criticality within Castle School, this chapter has illustrated how CGCE is constrained by the existence of a number of

Chapter Six

instrumental agendas at play at Castle School including economic, moral and cultural agendas, which focused on preparing students for the neoliberal global economy, a semi-compulsory emphasis on helping and speaking up, speaking out, and promotion of tolerance and understanding respectively. These dominant agendas have been described in the wider literature (Marshall 2011; Roman 2003; Schattle 2008; Schultz 2007). However, this chapter has illustrated how these agendas play out at Castle School and the difficulties associated with troubling the assumed naturalness of the global economy, the moral imperative associated with helping and speaking up, speaking out, and the difficulties in questioning other perspectives given the cultural emphasis on tolerance and acceptance. These agendas were tightly bound up with a number of actors including NGOs, corporations and government departments.

This chapter has argued that it is important to take these agendas seriously since they are so deeply embedded within the school and maintained in relation to the school's wider functions of getting good examination results, producing well-rounded students, school reputation and student wellbeing. It is also important to appreciate the tensions that teachers may experience between empowering their students on the one hand, and confronting them with the complexity of injustices on the other.

However, questioning voices do exist within the school and this chapter argues that there is need to support schools to develop safe spaces for discussion around these agendas, particularly through the provision of usable theoretical concepts which allow engagement with dominant economic agendas. These are not currently provided by postcolonial theory. In the final analysis chapter I focus further on the challenges associated with CGCE and the practical and ethical difficulties that teachers and students may face.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHALLENGES OF A CRITICAL GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AT CASTLE SCHOOL

Introduction

Having pointed to the opportunities for a CGCE within the curriculum at Castle School in chapter five, chapter six highlighted the strength of the instrumental agendas surrounding GCE including economic, moral and cultural ones. Chapter six showed how these agendas make it difficult to engage with commonsense understandings of the global economy and giving. For example, it is difficult to engage critically with charitable initiatives because of the moral imperative to help and make a difference. It is difficult to engage critically with ideas about the global economy because of its assumed naturalness and inevitability. The need to be tolerant and understanding of other cultures leads to hesitation to speak up and speak out. This chapter expands on these challenges by returning to the framework of CGCE set out in chapter two in order to explore some of the practical and ethical issues for a CGCE as they present themselves at Castle School. The aim is not to criticise but to explore the challenges with a critical approach and to point to areas where teachers could be better supported.

This chapter is divided into four sections following the framework for CGCE: knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible action. Using observations and comments from teachers, students and parents, I elaborate on some of the challenges associated specifically with CGCE. These include the perceived authority of school knowledge, difficulties in making space for alternative perspectives within the school, the challenge of moral relativism, students' emotional responses, complexity, and uncertainty. I argue that more understanding of these challenges is needed in order to be able to support teachers and learners to take up a critical approach to GCE.

Knowledge

The critical approach takes a social constructionist view in which knowledge is always seen as situated, partial and incomplete (Andreotti 2010). This is not to reject the realist basis for knowledge which has been developed by experts over many years, but to

Chapter Seven

point out that knowledge should be read with a critical eye rather than simply accepted. A critical approach therefore encourages students to question knowledge by asking where this account comes from, what purpose it serves and what the implications of this particular view are (Andreotti 2006b; Pashby 2012). Chapter six has already illustrated some of the difficulties inherent in engaging with dominant agendas and worldviews within the school. For example, it is difficult for the SLT to question the economic function of schooling or to unpick the notion of the 'global economy'. It is also difficult to question whether giving money to charity or joining campaigns is an effective basis for taking action due to the moral imperatives at play. Similarly, the responsibility that teachers' feel to protect the wellbeing of their students and empower them to make a difference also prevents critical engagement and asking why some people are in a position to help and speak up, speak out and others are not. This section points to another practical challenge associated with engaging critically with knowledge at Castle School. This challenge relates to the perceived authority of school knowledge, including textbook and teacher knowledge.

Authority of School Knowledge

In contrast to the uncertainty which some subject teachers expressed about teaching global issues (see chapter five), students seem to invest school knowledge with authority, seeing teacher and textbook knowledge as much more reliable than the media, of which there was a healthy level of scepticism. When asked by a DEC workshop facilitator why there is a lack of critical thinking in schools, one teacher commented that "students like the security of being told things" (Fieldnotes, 4.11.11). The following comments from sixth formers during a discussion group illustrate how school knowledge is perceived to paint a balanced picture in relation to global issues such as conflict and genocide:

I think having education about these kinds of things [specifically conflict and genocide] at school is a good thing because it allows you to find out both sides of what's happening and it gives you a better insight into what's really going on... It's probably a more reliable source of information than going and finding it from the news because as much as the news tells you about it, they only tell you one side of the story (P38, Y12 Student, 14.03.12).

No, like what we hear is not true. Like a metaphor for the media, they put their bias on things and the whole fear factor. (Y12 Student, 28.03.12)

Students tend to invest a reasonable amount of authority in school knowledge – knowledge from their teachers, textbooks and ‘expert’ visiting speakers, placing confidence in what they learn at school. This perceived authority may make it difficult to question and discuss knowledge. For example, in a Y9 Geography class on the unit *Global Footprints*, students were working independently to write a newspaper article for their unit assessment. Their teacher asked them to “imagine that the year is 2050 and the world’s climate has changed” (Lesson Plan, May 2012). They were told that, “the Kyoto agreement to try and reduce global warming across countries is not working and global temperatures have soared by 3.5 degrees” (Fieldnotes, 02.05.12). Using a variety of textbooks, the class were asked to carry out research for their articles, which should include sections about what global warming is and how changes to the climate have affected the planet. During this task, many students were struck by a figure in David Waugh’s (1998) *The New Wider World* textbook, a map of the UK illustrating the predicted gains and losses resulting from the greenhouse effect (see figure 16 overleaf).

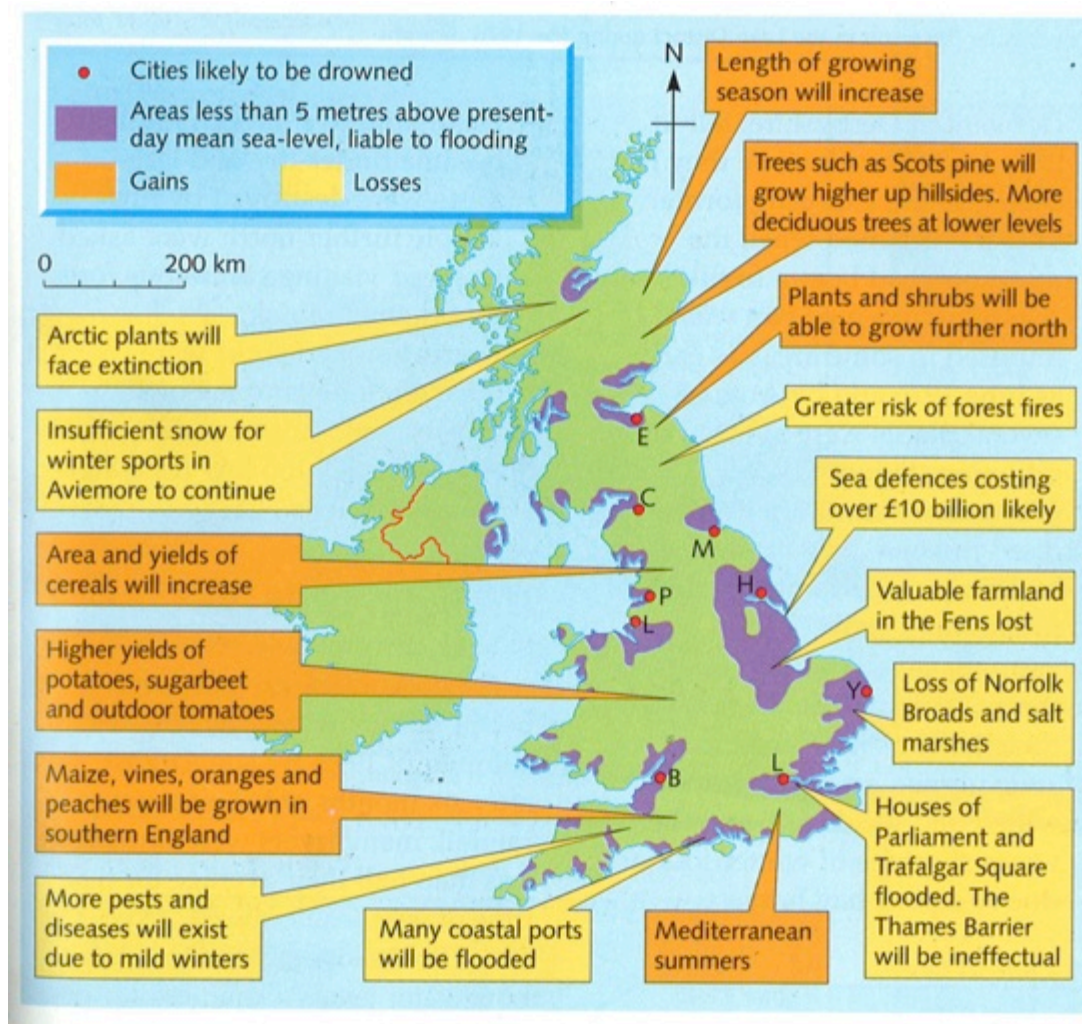


Figure 15: Predicted UK gains and losses resulting from the greenhouse effect in Waugh (1998: 205)

This figure states, that “maize, vines, oranges and peaches will be grown in southern England” and there will be “Mediterranean summers” (Waugh 1998: 205). The students were quite taken by this figure and many made excited comments such as, “Miss, we’re going to live by the sea and have a Mediterranean climate”. Another commented, “Yeah, because Bristol will be underwater and we’ll be able to grow oranges in our gardens” and “climate change won’t be such a bad thing because we’ll get nice hot weather” (Fieldnotes, 02.05.12).

Although the figure was supposed to illustrate ‘predicted’ gains and losses, the use of the future tense “will” in several of the labels suggests certainty about the impacts of climate change. The teacher reinforced this understanding, commenting that, “we’ll all

be living by the sea in Mediterranean temperatures". This directly contradicted information given in the previous lesson in which the class had copied down a list of impacts of global warming into their books. One of these was "the UK could end up far colder in winter if melting ice pushes the Gulf Stream away" (Fieldnotes, 26.04.12). Not one of the students questioned this contradiction, possibly in part because many had been away in the previous lesson. However, when handing out the textbooks, the teacher introduced this book as a 'GCSE' textbook which made it seem something special for students in Y9. When I suggested to two boys that UK temperatures might actually get colder because of changes to the Gulf Stream, they dismissed my suggestion and told me that this is a GCSE textbook, implying therefore that the figure must be right (Fieldnotes, 02.05.12).

Neither students nor teacher stopped to question that the 'GCSE' textbook was published 14 years previously, in 1998. There was no discussion in the lesson about the source of the knowledge or reference to more recent research which is much more ambiguous, predicting that UK temperatures will rise, rainfall will increase, and there is uncertainty regarding crop yields which are predicted to fall in the South of England and rise in Northern regions (MET Office 2011). The reliance on textbooks during the lesson was partly down to the lack of availability of computer/internet access for individual research during lesson time, together with the lack of funds to replace them with newer editions. This example serves to illustrate how perceptions of authority around knowledge, particularly textbook knowledge, can make it difficult to question information or see an issue from another viewpoint. It suggests the need to target textbook publishers, especially given that other analyses of textbooks portray outdated and Westernised views (see also Bryan and Bracken 2011; Lambert and Morgan 2011; Mikander 2012).

Dialogue

According to CGCE theory, one way of engaging with assumptions such as these is through the consideration of multiple perspectives. As chapter two explained, dialogue is not about understanding the other, but about relationship across difference with potential to learn, sometimes in unexpected ways. Castle School brought multiple perspectives into the school in a variety of ways as part of their GCE practice, most notably through school linking and literature, as discussed in chapter five. A variety of different approaches to difference were noted including the celebratory approach taken

during enrichment week, the relatively superficial approach taken during school linking and the relational approach used in the English lesson on the *Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*. This section points to two key challenges with the critical approach – firstly the difficulty in creating spaces for different perspectives to come into school, and secondly, the concern with moral relativism.

It is Easier to Collaborate with Those in the Same Boat

A glance at the table on page 110-111 reveals that Castle School's most active links are with countries in North America, Europe and Asia. This 'Northern-bias' was noted in discussions with teachers at Castle School (Fieldnotes, 21.03.12), as well as on a separate occasion by visiting teachers from the Swedish partner school who noted that Castle School students have never visited Sweden and prefer to 'go West' to America instead (Fieldnotes, 21.03.12). In our formal interview, the IE Co-ordinator, commented that for her, links with Northern countries, or what she referred to as More Economically Developed Countries (MEDCs) are less educational or "eye-opening" than links with Less Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs) in the Global South:

Our links with MEDCs are fine. But it's working with the LEDCs which is where I think our kids would get more out of it. If they managed to visit those countries and find out what life is like out there. You know... rather than going and visiting America is all good but it's not that much of a culture shock. They don't get to see the poverty and things like that (IE Coordinator, 26.04.12).

Other teachers agreed that students "have got to experience it [poverty]" in order to "understand the harsh realities of what's going on" (English Teacher, 28.03.12).

[Trips] have got to be the cornerstone because if internationalism means anything, it's got to mean, not just the comfort of the media exposure that we get in Western countries, developed countries. It has to be a more constructive and life-affirming experience. Unless you understand the realities of what's going on...lots of these kids haven't been out of Wiltshire let alone to somewhere like that and until you actually experience it, I don't know how you can care about it (English Teacher 28.03.12).

However, although teachers felt that links with partner schools in the Global South would be educational and "eye-opening", in practice they were difficult to set up and implement due to communication problems and different expectations and priorities

for each of the partners about what the link would entail. This extract from my interview with the IE co-ordinator serves as an illustration:

Even with the South Africa link, I mean South Africa's relatively...wealthy...compared to some countries. But they don't have the level of computer access that we do, you know. I mean our emails are at our fingertips 24 hours a day. And I don't think it's a priority. It's a priority for us international learning, but a priority for them is just learning. And you know their kids get excited that they might be communicating with students over here but there's no way they can afford a trip (IE Co-ordinator, 26.04.12).

This extract illustrates the inequalities across the linking relationship — inequalities in resources including computer access and finances for a trip, as well as inequalities in educational priorities. The IE Co-ordinator was acutely aware that while GCE is a priority for Castle School, it may not be a priority for their partner school in South Africa. When the South African teacher was due to visit, she expressed concern that he would not be made to feel welcome due to the sheer number of international links in the school. "They don't have many international links so for them it's a really big thing and very exciting. However, we have so many international links" (IE Co-ordinator, Fieldnotes, 24.05.11).

These inequalities led to difficulties with communication which seemed to be an issue across many of the links at Castle School. For example, an initial introductory letter was posted to the new Bangladeshi partner school in October 2011. No response had been received before the end of fieldwork in July 2012, despite the IE Co-ordinator sending follow-up emails. The situation was similar with Russia, a link which seemed to have no visible presence in the school: "we've also got a link in Russia but that seems to have stalled again through communication. It's things like the holidays are always different." (IE Co-ordinator, 26.04.12). Different holidays and term times made it difficult to co-ordinate any joint curriculum project with the Russian partner school. Although the local DEC provided training for the link with Bangladesh, teachers commented that the session had included ample information about what a link is not, referring specifically to the role of fundraising [or lack thereof] in linking and the inequality in relationships, but not much information about what they should actually do (Fieldnotes, 04.10.11). This suggests that there is little constructive support for teachers about how to manage inequality in linking relationships.

The difficulties in establishing and maintaining linking partnerships across inequalities bring to mind Gayatri Spivak's famous question, *Can the subaltern speak?* In her essay (Spivak 1988), she raises a number of criticisms pertaining to issues of voice and representation of oppressed perspectives. Using the example of widow sacrifice (*sati*) in colonial India, she describes how the widows' own voices are silenced between the British 'civilising mission' in which 'white men are saving brown women from brown men', and the Hindi representation, which maintains that 'the women wanted to die anyway' (Kapoor 2004: 627). Something similar could be said about international linking relationships. In the push to prioritise GCE and joint curricular initiatives, which are a priority for Northern schools, there is a danger of silencing other perspectives.

For example, during a training session run by the local DEC for teachers from local schools who were involved in setting up a cluster link with Bangladesh, part of the day consisted of exploring expectations: "why do we want to link?" and "why might a Southern school want to link with us?" (Fieldnotes, 04.10.11). In groups, we were given a sheet with a list of reasons why a UK school might want to link with a Bangladeshi school – things such as developing respect for other cultures, challenging stereotypes, raising the profile of ethnic minorities in school, making learning fun and engaging, learning about global issues such as poverty, making global issues more real for the children, and developing critical thinking skills. I joined a group of two primary school teachers and we were asked to choose our five main reasons for establishing a link. My group chose:

1. Pupils and staff develop greater respect for other cultures, values and beliefs
2. A link is enjoyable and motivates pupils to learn
3. Makes other countries real, not abstract or distant
4. Pupils learn about global and development issues
5. Pupils develop critical thinking skills as a result of challenging their perceptions and learning another viewpoint

After some full group feedback, we turned to the next question: "why do Bangladeshi schools want to link with us?" Each group was given a country and a list of statements about that country's education system. Our group had India. The statements included information about the public and private education systems in India and the inequalities between these. The information covered resources and facilities including

teacher to pupil ratio (which is as much as 1:50 or sometimes 1:100); the style of teaching (chalk and talk); teachers and teacher training (dearth of qualified teachers); teaching conditions (long working hours, low wages and little respect); ICT-based system; lack of resources and facilities. We then had to think about why an Indian school might want to link with us. The teachers in my group immediately steered away from anything to do with inequalities in economic resources, mentioning that linking is not supposed to be about fundraising. Instead, the teachers in my group prioritised creativity, suggesting that perhaps Indian schools and teachers would be looking to link in order to get ideas to improve the creativity of their teaching practice. They felt that because Indian teachers are working long hours with huge classes they would probably not have time to develop their own more creative lessons.

I was surprised at this discussion as my reflective note illustrates.

This seemed to reinforce cultural superiority about better teaching methods. I was surprised how much they avoided talking about fundraising – for me this would seem like a possible reason why an Indian school might go into a link. If they have an ICT-based education system they might be hoping to get support from a UK school to buy more computers or other resources. I suggested this but both the teachers seemed very wary of entering into any kind of discussion around fundraising. I wonder if fundraising has now been problematised to such a degree that schools and teachers are now wary of doing any fundraising at all? I can see that it's a difficult issue but one which is likely to arise given the (probable) inequality between the two schools (Reflection, 04.10.11).

This example illustrates how space was closed down and the Bangladeshi perspective on linking did not come through. This session did not prepare teachers to ask Bangladeshi teachers about their own expectations on linking. There was no discussion about what questions to ask, how to ask them or how to deal with different kinds of response. Instead, the activity encouraged teachers to make further assumptions about why Bangladeshi, or in this case Indian schools, might want to link. In doing so, it silenced the voices of the Bangladeshi partner (Kapoor 2004) and did not prepare teachers to deal with inequalities across the linking relationship and the possibility that financial resources might be a very real reason for a Bangladeshi school in entering a link. As Kapoor (2004: 637) argues, “far from being neutral relays, they [institutional structures] filter, reinterpret, appropriate, hijack the subaltern’s voice”. Although the topic of fundraising was addressed later in the session, it further reinforced the idea that it is up to the UK school to decide what the money should be spent on *should* they decide to fundraise. This again did nothing to promote dialogue.

Chapter Seven

This example raises the question about how to engage in dialogue when some cultures have been reduced to silence and their forms of seeing and knowing the world have become unpronounceable (Santos 1998). This raises another slightly different question. It is not so much a question of *Can the Subaltern speak?*, but whether English schools can create space for different voices to be heard without transforming, essentialising or romanticising their perspectives (Mukherjee in Valmiki 2003, Preface, x in Teamey 2012: 571 and Busa and Apple 2006 in Rizvi et al 2006: 254). Similar critiques of linking have been made by Leonard (2008) who criticises the way in which linking may reinforce dominant ideological perceptions of the partner culture and country.

Castle School mostly avoided these difficulties by working with schools with more similar expectations. The IE co-ordinator preferred the new European linking programme.

That's why the European link that we're doing is good. Because the majority of European schools are in sort of the same boat. You know, their education is really good and there's a lot more sort of cross-curricular links that you can do. For them it might be more practising their English as a second language. But because their English is so good you can do lots, right up to A-level, lots of joint curricular projects (IE Co-ordinator, 26.04.12).

This suggests that it is easier to form partnerships with schools who are similar rather than those who are different. This is not to say that the European linking relationships were of no value or that there was no differences between these 'Western' partnerships. On the contrary, Y12 students spoke passionately about what they had learned during visits to America, and when hosting visits from Swedish and Singaporean students as this extract illustrates:

The visits of international exchange students from China, America and Sweden are particularly memorable occasions for me because of the amount I was able to learn about other cultures. ... I personally found the social time we were able to spend with the exchange students (at breaks and lunch) was really informative. The relationship forged between many of us and them provided an environment in which any question was acceptable, however basic or stereotypical, allowing us to really understand what it was like to live in each other's culture. A particularly memorable conversation with the Swedish students involved their opinions on how liberal they all are about drugs (Y12 Student, 10.07.12).

However, the example of the Bangladesh link has illustrated the difficulties in engaging in dialogue across difference, particularly within the context of school

linking. It raises questions about the extent to which is it possible for English schools to make space for alternative perspectives within the curriculum, especially in relatively monocultural contexts such as Castle School.

However, as chapter five demonstrated, linking is not the only opportunity for engaging in dialogue across difference. Literature represents another medium for doing so. Furthermore, multiple perspectives also exist amongst the population of the school despite a perception of 'monoculture'. There are different kinds of difference. Chapter six illustrated some of these multiple perspectives and questioning voices in relation to the global economy and charitable initiatives. I would suggest that there is scope to create space for dialogue in relation to the difference that already exists within a school, as well as supporting teachers in working across difference in linking partnerships.

Moral Relativism

Where teachers and students did encounter different perspectives, there seemed to be a level of uncertainty about how to engage with difference and to what extent it is appropriate to make a judgement about someone else's point of view. On several occasions, this became apparent when students expressed concern about saying something 'wrong'. For example, "is it offensive to say that?" (Fieldnotes, 16.06.11), "I know what I want to say but I don't want to say if offensively" (Fieldnotes, 17.06.11) and "I don't want to say it offensively but they're a bit domesticated [in relation to a lesson on slavery]" (Fieldnotes, 17.06.11). In these cases, the teachers concerned reassured the students that they should not be afraid to say what they think and reminded them that there are no right or wrong answers.

However, this points to a wider issue about how far it is appropriate to challenge others. For example, during the Bangladesh link training session run by the local DEC, this issue was raised directly. Below is an extract from my fieldnotes which describes an exchange between the development educator facilitator and the teacher participants from Castle School and other local schools.

Fieldnotes 04.11.12: The facilitator asked the teachers what they would do if they encountered a situation where they felt that something is not morally right, for example, a Bangladeshi teacher beating children in her class. One of the participating teachers responded that she would do nothing because this is part of Bangladeshi culture and it would be wrong to intervene. The facilitator disagreed and explained that the link isn't

about changing another culture but about challenging each other and learning from one another. For her, beating a child is unacceptable because it goes against human rights. She gave the example of Female Genital Mutilation and said that Western guidance and tutelage on this issue can be helpful. She recommended that if the teachers found themselves in a situation like this, they should raise the issue in a non-confrontational way, explaining why they think it is wrong and how we do things differently here.

This exchange highlights how the cultural push for tolerance, understanding and respect of multiple perspectives described in chapter six conflicts with morals about challenging violence. The participating teacher felt that it would be wrong to challenge the hypothetical Bangladeshi approach to discipline, without appreciating the cultural context in which the Bangladeshi teacher is working and her potentially overcrowded classroom. Her response to accept the violence is in line with cultural discourses about tolerance, acceptance and understanding. However, the need to understand others and accept their ways of being and doing can prevent dialogue and discussion across difference. Standish (2012: 182) refers to this as the “whatever” approach to morality. Writing in the context of education for sustainable development, Wals (2010: 145) writes that this kind of ‘anything goes relativism’ and acceptance of any position is problematic because it does not foster dialogue and prevents us from legitimately engaging with and critiquing other positions.

There is a danger that too much emphasis on pluralism tends towards a relativist, anti-universalist position in which everything is reduced to perspective and standpoint. The problem with relativism is that it offers no grounds for valuing one perspective over any other or treating one explanation or solution as better than any other (Scheper-Hughes 1995; Young 2008). This can be difficult for teachers who have to work within more positivist notions of right, wrong and truth (Marshall 2011: 422). It also opens up possibilities for dominance “because no one is allowed to question whatever position one might fancy to hold” (Price 2007: 86). Within GCE this is particularly problematic since there are no grounds for challenging perspectives which are openly racist, colonialist, sexist, unethical or destructive (see e.g. Bartlett 2005).

This example has shown how, potentially, the cultural push for tolerance and understanding might make it difficult to engage in debate and dialogue and to push forward a particular agenda without critical understanding. Standish (2013: 182) also notes that, “values of diversity, tolerance, empathy, participation or being a “global citizen” all avoid asking difficult questions about which ideas and cultural practices

are better than others” (Standish 2013: 182). This issue points to a well-documented tension between different approaches to GCE – some emphasise universal goals and morals, while others emphasise the importance of promoting critical thinking and multiple ways of knowing (Bourn 2011).

The development educator above takes a moral position, one which draws from universal human rights and takes a moral stance in relation to challenging violence. She recommends that the teachers explain why they think the beating is wrong and how we do things differently here which encourages dialogue and learning across difference. Indeed, the approach at Castle School, especially the HGP, was heavily influenced by the idea of universal human rights. However, there is also need for caution at the other end of the scale, in relation to universal approaches towards difference.

Although sensitive to different perspectives and cultural traditions, the HGP co-ordinator expressed concern about the tendency towards relativism. In an informal conversation following a comment about a children’s book called *Christophe’s Story* (Cornwell 2006), she expressed concern about the tendency to sit back while atrocities are committed.

She is aware of cultural differences and it’s important to respect these but when it comes to murder, then this is wrong. Murder is wrong in all cultures. She doesn’t like arguments which say that it’s not our place to intervene (Fieldnotes, 13.06.12).

The book tells the story of an eight-year-old boy, Christophe, from Rwanda who was granted asylum in the UK after his family fled the 1994 genocide. Gradually, Christophe tells his new classmates about how he came to be in the UK and his teacher helps him to write down his story so that he can share it with others and help to raise awareness. The book explores the oral story-telling tradition that Christophe learnt from his Babi or Grandfather. His grandfather was a story-teller and the way he told a story could paint “pictures in the sky” (Cornwell 2006: 9). Christophe believed that writing stories down took away these pictures. In the ensuing discussion at the reading group, I said I was surprised that, despite Christophe’s initial resistance, his teacher helped him to write his story down. “It seemed like the Western written culture was being prioritised above Christophe’s own oral storytelling tradition. I wondered what we might learn from oral story-telling traditions such as these? Could his teacher

Chapter Seven

have helped him to make a play instead?" Several members of the reading group agreed with me, including the HGP co-ordinator (Fieldnotes, 09.02.12).

However, as described above, the HGP Co-ordinator was concerned that this might come to include acceptance of genocide and murder. Her concerns raise questions about the place of universal values in teaching about global issues and how these are treated in relation to local cultural values. While few would disagree with her that murder is wrong, a universal value of intervention is problematic as so much depends upon the context. A fundamental criticism of universalism is that universal models are not from nowhere – they are Western constructs and have served these interests (Escobar 2004).

This section has highlighted the challenges involved with balancing moral universalism with cultural difference and the concerns that teachers and students have with approaching difference. In relation to pluralistic knowledge, Andreotti (2010: 10) calls for educators to keep "possibilities open and equip learners to engage critically with each possibility, to listen, to negotiate ethically with others, and to analyse and take responsibility for the implications of their choices". This section suggests that more support might be needed in order to do this effectively including how to ask questions so as to open up space where different perspectives may be expressed.

Self-Reflection

This section turns to consider challenges associated with self-reflection within Castle School. Self-reflection is a process of turning in on oneself in order to understand how one is implicated within wider structural processes. While self-reflection was not a common strategy at Castle School, where it did occur, it raised issues about emotional responses and the complexity of interconnection.

Emotional Responses

Those lessons that did encourage self-reflection often did so using a legal framework which tended to assign individual blame and produce a strong emotional reaction amongst students (Young 2006). In one lesson on ghost acres as part of the Y9 Geography unit, *Global Footprints*, students were asked to reflect upon the effects of their own energy and food consumption in relation to poverty (Fieldnotes, 24.05.12). The teacher introduced the topic by explaining that, "Kenya and Ethiopia, countries

like that don't produce enough food for their own people. There are people in those countries who are starving. But their governments can make more money producing food for us rather than for local people. This is called ghost acres" (Fieldnotes, 24.05.12). She asked the students to copy the information from a slide on the board into their books to explain, "what will happen to the countries who produce food for us". The information had been drawn from *Horizons 3* textbook (Gardner *et al.* 2006).

- Countries like South Africa and Kenya do not produce enough food to feed its population. Yet these countries can produce and grow food for richer and MEDC countries.
- This land was once used for growing crops for local people.
- Many people in these countries are suffering from malnutrition, or even starvation.
- The land that no longer produces essential food for the local population is sometimes called 'ghost acres'. (Information on the board, 24.05.12)

The teacher then put up a slide showing a photograph of a rose beside a photograph of a starving mother and child from Kenya. She explained, "If you were lucky enough to get a rose on Valentine's Day, chances are it was grown in Kenya". Now reading from the slide, she continued, "Because of this, the land is not being used by locals to grow crops leading to this mother and child being malnourished". She finished by explaining that, "The locals must get very frustrated because they can see all this stuff being exported yet they are starving. Obviously you can't eat roses but they could use that land to grow other crops" (Fieldnotes, 24.05.12). The students were then asked to draw a picture of a rose in their books and explain, "why buying roses leads to starving children in Kenya".

Here, the students were placed in a causal relationship to poverty which is consistent with a critical approach to GCE (Dobson 2006). This was met with a mixed response. Some already seemed well aware of these implications, while others talked about feeling guilty, and one student reacted defensively saying, "miss, it's not our fault". The teacher acknowledged that it was not his fault but said that she wanted them to "understand the connection". Another student responded somewhat flippantly, "So shall I say that Kenyans can't be bothered to grow food?" The teacher replied, "No. It's not because they can't be bothered. You could write something like using the land to grow roses abroad means that it can't be used to grow food for the locals. This leads to

malnourishment". In response, the same student replied, "who cares, just buy roses" (Fieldnotes, 24.05.12). Following this short exchange, the discussion drew hurriedly to a close. There were no further questions from the students about why Kenya is growing roses when it could be growing food. The students seemed to just accept the situation. The teacher circulated around the room while the students were working, her only comments about the students work were "nice rose", "brilliant rose" (Fieldnotes, 24.05.12).

This example illustrates some of the difficulties with self-reflection about wider lifestyle choices in school. As one teacher commented in relation to the wider issue of the impact of consumerism, "they [students] really don't want to find out about that, that would be depressing" (English Teacher, 28.03.12). The difficulties seem to arise partly from the way the activity was framed. The emphasis was on individuals – "if *you* were lucky enough to get a rose". By directly linking individual actions to malnutrition in Kenya, the students seemed to feel as if they were being blamed. This produced defensive and deflective responses by the students. This is consistent with Taylor's (2013) research. In her analysis of trainee teacher journals as part of a pre-service course on social and global justice education, Taylor (2013) found that students often resist 'difficult knowledge' in which they are implicated. She identifies a number of ways in which students resist and refers to these as the 'Ds' of resistance: denial, discredit, defend, demand attention, despair, distract, disconnect, or distance themselves from the problem.

Others have written about how student responses such as denial or deflection often work to maintain students' innocence as a 'good' moral person. In a Western moral discourse which is largely "geared to pinning praise or blame on individual actors" (Farmer 2001: 307) and is characterised by a series of reductive binaries such as 'innocent' vs. 'guilty', 'good' vs. 'bad', 'right' vs. 'wrong' (Applebaum 2007; Boler 1999), students often resist when they feel that their complicity identifies them as 'guilty', 'bad', or 'wrong'. They resist further discussion in order to appear 'good' and 'innocent' and uphold their need for a "moral narrative of self" (Heron 2007: 137).

This desire to maintain themselves as innocent is evident in the way that the students responded saying, "It's not our fault", and "who cares, just buy roses". Apparently not wanting to make them feel uncomfortable, or perhaps not knowing how to open up the issue, the teacher closed down the discussion and focused her comments instead on the

drawings of the roses. This avoidance has also been noted by Boler (1999) and Applebaum (2012, 2007).

There is growing interest in the role of emotions in GCE (Humble 2012; Tallon 2012a; Todd 2001; Zembylas 2013). Zembylas (2013) recognises the need for strategies which allow students to examine their implicatedness within structural violence without being bound by their emotional responses (Zembylas 2013). He argues that, “The effects of emotional injury are powerful, yet they are also temporary and ambivalent, and do not solidify into moralistic law unless the political appropriation of emotions of trauma remains unchallenged” (Zembylas 2013: 102). This fleetingness of emotional reactions means that it is possible to find “new interpretive approaches and practices of relating with ‘others’ – pedagogies that do not fossilise emotional injury but *move forward*” (Zembylas 2013: 102: emphasis in original). One possibility for moving forward would be to see the problem of ghost acres as an issue of shared responsibility rather than framing it in terms of individual blame (Young 2006). This might involve exploring the role of other stakeholders involved in the production and sale of Kenyan roses, including MNCs who set up agri-businesses in Kenya, and supermarkets who make money out of the sale of roses. An understanding of all actors involved in the chain may make it easier to discuss what conditions make this system of injustice possible according to dimensions of power, privilege, interest and collective ability (Young 2006). Another approach could be to ask students to situate themselves within these wider historical and systemic conditions. For example, what do the conditions that form me constrain me to do? What can I do in conjunction with others to transform them (Applebaum 2012)?

Complexity

A further issue associated with self-reflection is the complexity of our implicatedness. During another Y9 Geography lesson at the start of the *Global Footprints* unit, students explored the impact they have on the global ecosystem in terms of the food, water, energy and products they consume. They were asked to produce a mind map about how aspects of their lives affect the global ecosystem. The teacher introduced the activity using the example of ‘having a cup of tea’. She explained that having a cup of tea affects the global ecosystem in many ways. The land is cleared to grow tea leaves, aeroplanes and lorries are used to transport the tea leaves to factories, switching on the kettle uses water and electricity. “All of these things have an impact on the global

Chapter Seven

ecosystem". She gave the students some other suggestions including making toast, eating fruit, watching TV or using a laptop (Fieldnotes, 18.04.12).

The class were then asked to draw their own mind maps. Two of the students filled their entire sheets exploring the impact of eating a banana, including growing it, storing it, transporting it, producing the sticker which is put on the banana before selling it, buying it and then disposing of the skin and sticker. One of them had written "I feel so guilty..." on his mind map (see figure 16). I asked him about this and he explained that he'd added a bit of humour because it was a bit depressing" (Fieldnotes, 18.04.12).

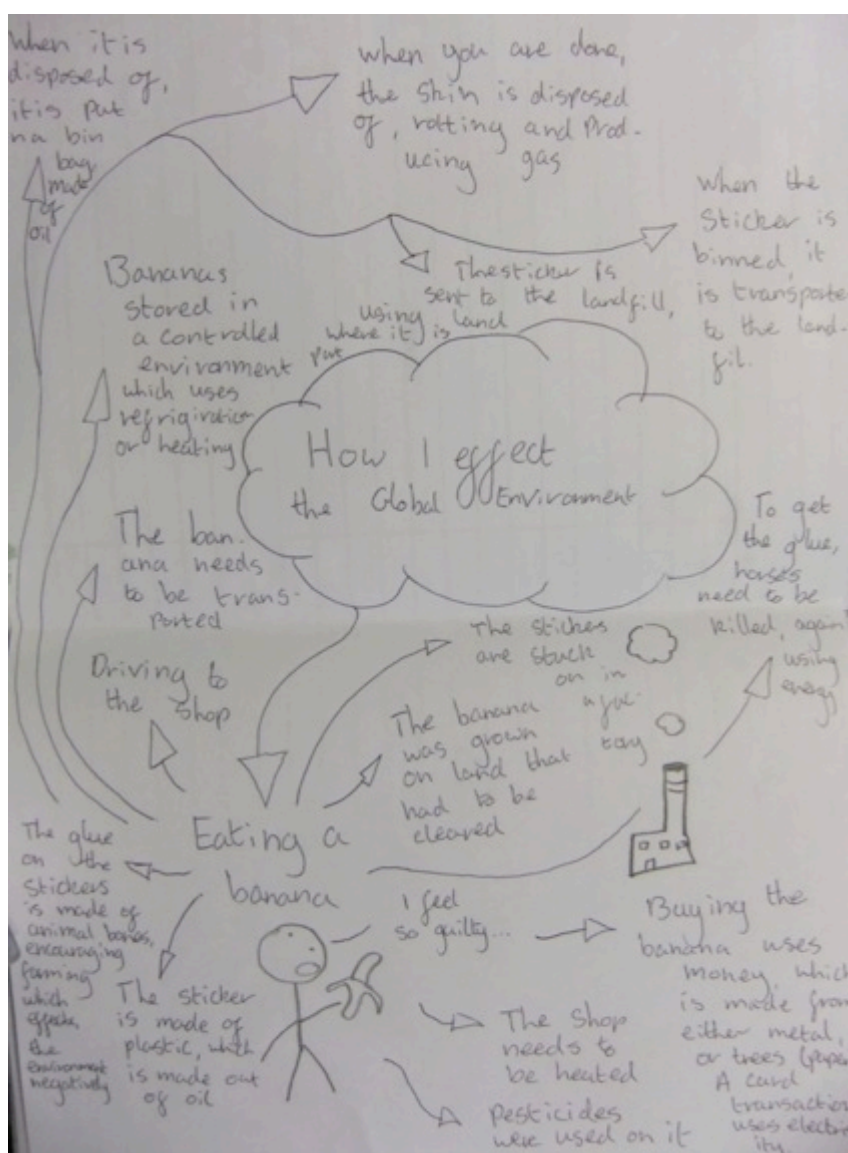


Figure 16: Student Mind Map – How I Affect the Global Eco-System

However, in spite of the depressing nature of the topic, the example from the *Global Footprints* unit above illustrates how readily the students were able to identify connections between their own lives and environmental (and sometimes social) issues. They did this easily drawing upon their existing knowledge and experience without additional prompting from the teacher or independent research. Different groups of students explored different activities within their daily lives including drinking a glass of milk, eating a chocolate bar, eating a banana, playing football, doing their hair, going on holiday and making a smoothie, quickly filling their sheets and even surprising their teacher with the number of connections they were able to identify in relation to one simple activity such as drinking a glass of milk. However, as one pupil pointed out “miss, you could do everything with how you affect the global ecosystem”. She responded by telling him “that’s the point”. However, for him, this is “stupid” because everything we do has an impact and it is impossible and pointless to capture everything (Fieldnotes, 18.04.12).

In this example, the students were already well aware of how their daily activities implicate them in a range of environmental and social issues. The issue is not lack of knowledge. However, the comments by this student raise a wider question about the meaning behind the activity, which, for the student was meaningless. As Applebaum (2007: 465) notes, the idea of complicity “construct[s] nearly everyone as responsible for nearly everything and thus reduces the notion of responsibility to an absurdity”. The activity produced an “instantaneity of interconnections” (Massey 2005: 14). This raises important questions about which issues and connections teachers and learners are to focus on during their reflections and why (Huckle 2002). This meant that, although people within the school community including parents and students recognised their implicatedness, often they did nothing about this:

I mean, I’ve got an i-phone. Because it’s a reality. What am I going to do, stop it [referring to poor working conditions for Chinese workers at design house Foxcom]. Bloody good phones as it happens... Starbucks, what a load of rubbish. Do I care? No, if I want a cup of coffee and Starbucks is closest, I’ll go (Parent Two, 03.05.12).

I make a big impact on the environment as well as everyone else because I use things like TV, computer games, I eat things that are cooked. I get around transported in a car. I live in a house that uses up gas, electricity and water. I went on holiday recently to America so therefore I went on a plane. Most of the time I leave the tap running when I brush my teeth. I sometimes forget to turn off lights when I go out of a room (Y9 Student, 18.04.12).

Chapter Seven

The lack of specificity within the activity made it difficult to have a deeper discussion about how to respond. In order to overcome this, it may be possible to incorporate more discussion around the wider structural processes that constrain and influence our decisions, as well as recognition of how the world is never complete, connections are never finished and the potential for changing these ongoing constructions (Massey 2005).

Responsible Action

Chapter two illustrated how responsible action and being follows from critical engagement with knowledge, dialogue across difference, and self-reflection. Acting responsibly is not about telling learners what they should do but allowing them to make informed and intentional decisions about the best course of action within a particular context. This does not necessarily mean doing something special outside the realm of everyday experiences, but about recognising our implicatedness and acting on this with others. Chapters five and six have already highlighted the strength of the moral agendas surrounding charitable initiatives at Castle School and the responsibilities that teachers feel to empower their students to feel like they are making a difference, and how these constrain possibilities for informed and responsible action. Chapter five illustrated the opportunities within the approach taken by the HGP which framed responsible action in terms of everyday choices. This final section illustrates challenges with leaving students to make their own decisions for taking action.

Uncertainty

Some teachers and students expressed doubt and uncertainty about what they, as individuals, could and should do. For example, one student made the following comment in a discussion group:

You can't really stop it [poverty]. There's not really much we can do except give to charities and stuff like that (Y9 Student, 16.03.12).

When I followed up with her Geography teacher after the discussion group, her teacher made a similar comment:

Oh yeah, someone here said it's not really going to change, it's just that's how people are. Selfish. You can't stop it. So it will never change I don't think, sadly. Because the inequality is always going to be there... You know, we've helped out as a country...but it's just...it is impossible to

change. You just have to do as much as you can, things like buying fairtrade and raising awareness. We have lots of appeals. There are so many charities that do little things (Geography Teacher, 26.04.12).

These comments illustrate the doubt and uncertainty that both teachers and students have in knowing how to respond to poverty beyond the so-called “fundraising, fasting, having fun” approach (Bryan and Bracken 2011: 15). There was a sense of impossibility and futility in relation to tackling inequality and the idea that there is only so much you can do.

Staff and students also expressed uncertainty about how to respond to genocide. In an informal conversation, the HGP co-ordinator told me about the difficulties she faces in knowing how to involve students and what they can do to respond to genocide. She explained to me that students can see that genocide is wrong. “They are very passionate but they can’t understand why nobody else is doing anything about it. If they, a 14-year-old can see that it’s wrong, why aren’t the UN or governments doing something about it”. She explained to me that students come to see her wanting to do something now. “They are interested, engaged and asking questions, and if they don’t do something now, by the time they are 30 they will have lost interest”. In her opinion, “writing a letter doesn’t really seem to cut it”. Students “want things to actually change” (Fieldnotes, 13.06.12).

Her comments resonate with student comments on the HGP online discussion forum. They give a sense of the uncertainty that students feel in knowing what they can do:

To be brutally honest, I'm disgusted that nearly 400 war criminals, all or most, indefinitely guilty of war crimes/mass murder and genocide should be allowed to live in the UK without any form of punishment or consequence. Why hasn't anyone sought justice for the victims? Why can't the British Government and justice systems do anything to punish them? As well as these, what can we do as a small number to help with the cause of bringing these people to justice? (Y10 Student, 17.11.11)

The situation in Darfur is one that we as a school can't tackle alone. We can aim to raise awareness in school, yes. Yet I feel we need support off the local communities and head figures to make more of an impact. Should we write letters to public figures? Articles for the local papers and magazines? Presentations to other schools perhaps about getting them interested and to join us in our work? Any other suggestions? (Y12 Student, 30.11.11).

Chapter Seven

These two students are clearly passionate about the issue of genocide but their questions illustrate their sense of frustration at not knowing what to do to bring about justice or prevent the crimes in Darfur.

A similar sense of self-frustration was voiced by a learning mentor who was involved in the HGP.

LM: And so there is this constant guilt. I should be doing more. How can I fit it in? What can I do? And this new book that we're going to read... apparently that's going to help me with my answers to how can I take this forward, what can I personally do. Obviously I can support students and help them understand

CB: yes

LM: but I don't feel that's really doing. You know, I think regardless if I was there or not, I don't think there would be an impact. Maybe there is, maybe I'm a bit hard on myself.

CB: well you are also finding out about genocide and making yourself informed aren't you?

LM: but making yourself informed, what then do you do with this information?

(Learning Mentor, 15.03.12)

These comments show how students and staff want to be able to *do* something tangible so that they can see that something is changing. However, their comments illustrate the uncertainty that they experience with knowing what they can do. Without viable alternatives it seems that approaches such as fundraising and awareness-raising are likely to remain dominant in schools, despite criticism from a CGCE perspective that these approaches are unlikely to change the underlying structures which bring about and maintain social injustice. This echoes Smith's (2004b) that fundraising is part of the expected societal response and is also easy to do.

Authority

In practice, although many teachers wanted to empower students to make a difference, many students choose activities and actions which were already pre-defined rather than making their own decisions. This is unsurprising given the uncertainty described above.

For example, in one session of the HGP reading group, the HGP co-ordinator asked two students whether they would like to take part in the upcoming Holocaust and genocide memorial evening by doing a reading. She gave each girl a choice of writing or finding something for herself or reading something which the HGP co-ordinator would write for them. Both chose the latter option. The HGP co-ordinator later explained to me that she was aware of the girls' own coursework commitments and did not want to overburden them (Fieldnotes, 19.04.12). This suggests that, at some level, young people like the security of being told what to do. In Bryan and Bracken's (2011) words, they want 'obedient activism'.

Similarly, one of the extra-curricular HGP reading group sessions was led by two sixth-formers. It was unusual for the meeting to be facilitated by sixth-formers but the regular staff members were away due to a parents evening. There were six students present at the meeting, ranging in age from Y9 to Y13. The HGP co-ordinator had asked the sixth-formers to lead a discussion about the situation in Darfur and to think about what they, as a group, could do to organise a campaign. However, none of the students in the group really knew anything about Darfur. The HGP co-ordinator had given them an information sheet but the sixth-formers confessed to the rest of the group that they did not know where Darfur is on the map. The sixth formers reiterated what the HGP co-ordinator had told them, "this is genocide and it's happening now" and questioned why we do not hear more about Darfur on the news (Fieldnotes, 03.11.11). Then they led a brain-storming activity to gather ideas for a campaign. However, one of the girls raised the question, "what is the campaign for and why are we doing it? Is it about raising money or raising awareness or something else?" The question went unanswered as nobody really seemed to know how to respond. The girls also began to question their own authority to run a campaign. "None of us have been to Darfur or know anything about what is going on there. It wouldn't seem very real. People would be like, 'who are you to say this?'. Others agreed saying that it would not be sincere if they spoke in campaign videos because people know that they don't know anything about Darfur (Fieldnotes, 03.11.11).

This example illustrates that, despite good intentions to empower students to lead their own campaigns, without sufficient knowledge of the situation in Darfur, it is difficult for students to know what to do, which might conversely undermine their confidence.

I would argue that there is a need for greater understanding of alternatives to campaigning and charitable giving. While there is nothing necessarily wrong with these actions, there is a danger that they reinforce stereotypes and do nothing to change the underlying structural injustices. The approach taken on Holocaust Day emphasised the importance of everyday choices, which is an important aspect of responsible action. There is also scope to provide information about alternative actions such as collective social movements to inspire students as well as illustrating the difficulties and complexities involved in challenging unjust structures (Jefferess 2012a). Similarly, there is also something to be said for an emphasis on 'being' rather than 'doing', which encourages change at the level of ourselves rather than trying to change the world before we understand it (Applebaum 2012).

Conclusion

Having pointed to some of the opportunities for a CGCE at Castle School in chapter five and illustrated how these are constrained by the existence of a number of interlocking instrumental agendas in chapter six, this chapter has highlighted some of the practical and ethical challenges associated with CGCE. It has illustrated how difficult it can be to engage critically with knowledge, to dialogue across difference, to reflect on our own implication in unjust structures, and the uncertainty surrounding responsible action. In particular, I have highlighted how traditions of authority associated with textbook knowledge may constrain possibilities for questioning. I have discussed how difficulties involved in working across difference may close down spaces for dialogue and how teachers and students are unsure about the balance between cultural relativism and moral universalism. I have also examined some of the emotional reactions which accompany self-reflection and close down possibilities for further examination, as well as the complexity involved in examining interconnections. Finally, I have pointed to the uncertainties that teachers and students face in knowing what to do about the issues they are learning about, contributing to a reliance on simplistic charitable and campaigning solutions which do nothing to challenge the underlying injustices.

Clearly teachers are not faced with an easy job. In highlighting these challenges I suggest that there is urgent need for more good quality support and guidance in schools which is not linked to an instrumental agenda. In particular, I suggest that teachers need practical strategies they can use to overcome some of these issues

including guidance on how to ask questions to explore difference expectations in linking relationships, strategies for exploring structural as well as individual implication, and alternatives to fundraising as a course of action. Suggestions are made in the final chapter of this thesis.

The final chapter draws together the arguments made in this thesis in order to argue that there has been a tendency within the literature to critique teachers and schools without paying close enough attention to the difficulties and challenges they face. While there are clear opportunities for CGCE in school, teachers need good quality support in order to help them approach what is a difficult and demanding area. Before that, however, I provide a short reflection on the process of analysis and writing.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This research has explored how GCE plays out in the context of one English secondary school and the challenges and opportunities for a CGCE. It is one of only two in-depth case studies on GCE and its emphasis on the practicalities of using a CGCE framework offers an original contribution. Following this brief introduction, this chapter will summarise the empirical chapters of this thesis and draw out the key arguments therein. In particular, I highlight the opportunities for CGCE, particularly within the school curriculum subjects, as well as pointing to the challenges posed by a number of instrumental agendas, alongside more practical and ethical issues. I discuss these conclusions in relation to the main strengths and limitations of the thesis before making some practical recommendations at both ends of the research and practice continuum which this research has sought to address.

Summary of Findings

The three empirical chapters in this thesis explore the practices, meanings, challenges and opportunities for GCE at Castle School. In chapter five I pointed to the wide range of initiatives associated with GCE including school linking, charitable giving, a Holocaust and Genocide Programme (HGP), enrichment week, ASDAN award programmes and the formal curriculum. Many of these initiatives occupied marginal spaces within the school such as registration time and collapsed timetable days, creating the impression that GCE is something separate from, or additional to, the formal curriculum. However, despite the ambiguous relationship between GCE and the formal curriculum, I argued that the curriculum presents opportunities for CGCE, utilising the expertise and passion of subject teachers. Using thick description, I illustrated a number of lessons which encouraged critical engagement with knowledge, dialogue across difference, self-reflection and responsible action. Inevitably not every

Chapter Eight

lesson provided such opportunities and teachers were also constrained by the National Curriculum, textbooks and time. However, like Schweisfurth (2006), this research at Castle School found that those teachers who are motivated were able to adapt the curriculum towards CGCE in a much deeper way than offered in whole-school initiatives. In spite of the challenges for CGCE highlighted in this thesis and in other existing research (Bourn and Hunt 2011; Bryan and Bracken 2011; Hunt 2012; Mundy and Manion 2008), chapter 5 has demonstrated the existence of elements of CGCE at Castle School.

However, despite this potential for CGCE and the expressions of criticality that existed within the school, chapter six illustrated how CGCE is constrained by the existence of a number of instrumental agendas at play at Castle School, as described in the wider literature (Marshall 2011; Roman 2003; Schattle 2008; Schultz 2007). These included economic, moral and cultural agendas which focused on preparing students for the neoliberal global economy, a semi-compulsory emphasis on helping and speaking up, speaking out, and promotion of tolerance and understanding respectively. These agendas were tightly bound up with a number of actors including NGOs, corporations and government departments. Their dominance often put them beyond question making it difficult to question the inevitability of the global economy or to examine the problematic elements of charitable giving. However, chapter six argued that these agendas need to be taken seriously, not least because they were used to justify GCE within Castle School in relation to the school's functions of achieving good examination results, producing well-rounded students, protecting student wellbeing and building the school's reputation.

Finally, chapter seven highlighted a number of practical and ethical challenges associated with CGCE, suggesting that critical engagement is difficult and, at times uncomfortable. In particular, I pointed to the norms of authority that students may invest in school knowledge, making it difficult to question what is written in textbooks or to challenge whatever view the teacher holds. Secondly, I pointed to the difficulties in engaging with difference, particularly working across different perspectives, and the tension between cultural relativism and moral universalism, which led to confusion about whether all views are valid. Thirdly, I raised difficulties with self-reflection including the uncomfortable emotional responses that our implicatedness may trigger and the complexities associated with understanding these interconnections. Finally, I pointed to the uncertainty experienced by both teachers and students in knowing what

to do beyond a fundraising and campaigning approach, which risked reinforcing cultural superiority and prioritising simple, obedient actions.

Contributions

The main contribution of this thesis is to provide a nuanced understanding of how (C)GCE plays out in one English secondary school. This is done in several ways including describing how GCE is practised within Castle School and the multiple and varied initiatives associated with GCE using an in-depth ethnographic approach. It also illustrates the uncertainty with the concept of GCE amongst many members of the school community. Perhaps most importantly, this thesis offers a framework of critical global citizenship education which can be used in both research and practice. Using this framework I have illustrated where and how elements of criticality are already present within the school and the challenges associated with fostering critical understanding, dialogue, reflection and responsible being and action.

In response to the questions driving this thesis:

Question 1: How is global citizenship education practised in one secondary school?

This research has illustrated the wide range of topics and initiatives associated with GCE at Castle school including genocide and Holocaust, travel, cultural difference, environment, poverty and disability, topics which are not all traditionally associated with GCE. It also illustrates the range of pedagogies associated with GCE including both 'soft' and 'critical' approaches.

Question 2: What are the challenges and opportunities for a critical global citizenship education?

Firstly, GCE faces conceptual challenges. The experience in Castle School highlighted significant confusions and hesitancy around the concept of GCE – painting it either as something holistic or as something distant involved in learning *about* the Other *out there*. I would argue that the term GCE constructed teaching and learning about global issues as something which takes place outside of the formal curriculum – through school linking, charitable giving and enrichment week – and limiting it to marginal spaces within the school including registration time and collapsed-timetable days. As others have argued, this had the effect of marginalising GCE and rendered it to a 'Cinderella' initiative (Bryan 2011; McCollum 1996), empty of meaning and

Chapter Eight

content (Standish 2012). This detracts from topics of difference, development, conflict, consumption, and environment which are already present within the formal curriculum and constrains further curriculum development.

Secondly, there are challenges associated with practising a critical approach. Chapter three argued that the literature has tended to criticise existing GCE in schools, placing a great deal of responsibility with teachers to challenge dominant and common-sense ways of thinking about the economy, morality and culture. However, as Kumashiro (2009) argues, common sense ideas are difficult to challenge because these ideas tend to give us a sense of comfort and ease. This is not to suggest that these structures cannot be troubled or that teachers and students are incapable of doing so. On the contrary, chapter six illustrated areas of contestation within Castle School, suggesting that some teachers, students and parents felt uncomfortable with the dominant agendas. I argue that CGCE theory and research needs to recognise and understand how these structures play out in the school and support policy-makers, teachers and students to engage accordingly. Challenges such as these are only just starting to receive attention within the literature.

However, while acknowledging the difficulties of CGCE, this research also points to a number of potential opportunities for a critical approach within school, particularly where CGCE is closely related to the formal curriculum. This potential lies in the subject expertise and passion which teachers often bring to their own subject area which provides opportunities for troubling taken-for-granted assumptions, dialoguing across difference, self-reflection and responsible action. Many teachers also desired to produce deep understanding, challenge stereotypes and assumptions and bring about informed decision-making. This breaks down any sharp distinction or 'reality gap' between CGCE theory and school practice. CGCE is very much part of the aims and understandings of practitioners. The opportunities within and alongside the formal curriculum provided much more promise than whole-school initiatives which were often couched in emptiness, frustration and confusion. Furthermore, I have also pointed to the curiosity of students in relation to poverty, genocide and the depth of questions students have about charitable initiatives and potential for more critical engagement with these issues.

This comes at a time when the relationship between GCE and the formal curriculum is the topic of much debate (Bourn 2012; Lambert 2013; Lambert and Morgan 2011;

Standish 2012). Rather than seeing the social constructionist approach to knowledge within CGCE as conflicting with a more realist understanding of knowledge manifest within the National Curriculum, this research points to the value of a social realist approach to knowledge (Young 2008). Young's approach recognises the reality of structures, boundaries, norms and conventions within knowledge which have developed historically, while also recognising the situated, changing and incomplete nature of these knowledges. As the examples in chapter five, drawn from English and Geography lessons, demonstrate, social realism offers a useful basis for CGCE.

Strengths and Limitations

In itself, trying to capture the dynamics of GCE within one school was an ambitious and broad undertaking. As illustrated in this thesis, GCE was associated with broad and wide-ranging initiatives within the school which made it difficult to narrow down the study. Usually ethnography involves a process of narrowing down areas of interest, and while I did this to some extent, focusing on the HGP, linking, charitable giving and the formal curriculum, this remit remains very broad. I spent a lot of time in school, afraid to miss anything that might turn out to be important. In doing so, I may have compromised on detail, for example, in hindsight I could have paid more attention to the Kony 2012 campaign described in chapter six, the International School Award (ISA) audit described in chapter five, or spent more time with individual teachers and students talking to them about the difficulties associated with CGCE as described in chapter seven. I could have also spent more time with individual teachers, interviewing them before and after lesson observations to understand more about their decision-making processes and their reflections on lessons. All these areas would have added depth to my thesis but were compromised by the time available and the evolving nature of this research, which meant that they did not emerge as significant until later in the process. However, in taking the broad, open and exploratory approach that I did, I was able to gain a much more complex picture of GCE, drawing on the perspectives of teachers, students and parents and going beyond conventional whole-school approaches such as school linking and charitable fundraising which have already received much attention within the literature (Bourn 2012).

Chapter Eight

While the focus on a single school may be seen as a limitation, particularly in relation to the potential for empirical generalisability (Dillon and Reid 2004; Stake 2000), the in-depth focus on one school is also what gives this research its strength and originality. In spending so much time at Castle School, I was able to get to know participants and become very familiar with the context in which they were working. The emphasis on observation in this research enabled me to sketch a different picture of GCE to the conventional approach premised on interviews and surveys, which often prioritises the view of a designated global co-ordinator within the school and focuses on whole-school initiatives. Although I cannot claim empirical generalisability, this research has offered low- and middle-range theoretical insights which have broader implications beyond Castle School. O'Reilly (2009: 185) writes that, "ethnographies gain value and significance as they meet other accounts of similar (or the same) settings and contribute to a plausible, collective account". In linking my arguments to the existing literature and providing detailed descriptions and evidence to support my claims, this research offers both a plausible and credible account.

Finally, this research did not explore particular aspects of social identity such as gender, class, race, ethnicity and religion which are complexly interrelated with notions and understandings of 'global citizenship'. In her paper on global citizenship and marginalisation, Balarin (2011) talks of how the material realities often associated with class shape imaginations of citizenship and global citizenship. Castle School serves a predominantly white middle class population, and although I recognise that there are differences in the material realities, class, race, ethnicity and religion of students, teachers and parents within the school community, it was not the aim of this research to explore these differences as they relate to GCE. Instead, the aim was to explore how GCE plays out in one context, which is what is offered in this thesis.

Implications and Recommendations

The starting point for this research was the perceived 'reality gap' between the theoretical ideal of CGCE and the practice of English schools. However, the experience at Castle School suggests that these are not two separate worlds. Observations and interviews with teachers, students and parents attest to the importance of developing a critical approach within school, while there is a parallel role for theory and research in understanding and supporting this practice. Like Chaiklin (2013), I would argue that

research and practice exist at two ends of a path or continuum, where research is one example of a practice within GCE.

Chaiklin (2013) proposes a ‘research path’ conceptualisation which dissolves the separation between ‘research’ and ‘practice’ and allows researchers to map out what further knowledge, understanding, consultation, training and materials are needed to support practice. He argues that it is the job of researchers to make sure that research findings are relevant and usable by policy-makers and practitioners. I have therefore sketched a CGCE research path in figure 17 below. Recommendations at both ends of the theory and practice continuum are made in the text that follows.

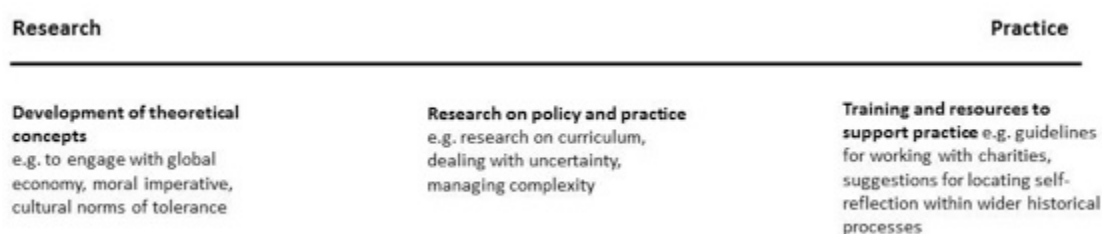


Figure 17: Research Path for Critical Global Citizenship Education

Practical Recommendations

This research has provided insights into how GCE is practised in one English secondary school and shed light onto the opportunities and challenges for putting a critical approach into practice. As the examples in chapter 5 show, opportunities exist particularly in using teachers’ subject specialisms within the formal curriculum. However, CGCE is not easy and presents many practical and ethical challenges which go beyond those concerned with the lack of time associated with ‘soft’ approaches to GCE. It requires engagement with difficult knowledge which might challenge learners’ own sense of moral self, as well as grappling with complexity and uncertainty. This section provides some recommendations for making the most of the opportunities for CGCE that already exist in schools, as well as calling for further wider support to enable schools and teachers to develop a critical approach.

- The experience at Castle School suggests that CGCE is most effective where teachers are able to use their subject specialism and passion within their curriculum area rather than in whole school approaches such as theme days

and ASDAN where tutors feel under-prepared to engage students critically with the subject. For example, elements of criticality came through strongly during the Holocaust and Genocide programme and in lessons on the oil spill in Geography and the *Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time* in English.

- This research raises the question of the utility of an umbrella concept such as GCE. While this concept may be valuable to theoreticians in posing questions about similarity and difference, distance and proximity, universal and particular, self and other, I would suggest that the value of an umbrella term is limited in practice since it creates confusion and uncertainty. I would argue that GCE, like Huckle (2002: 34) says about the term 'global dimension', has little utility as a focus for curriculum development since everything can be argued to have a 'global' dimension. Instead what is distinctive is the critical approach outlined in chapter two (Figure 2) – knowledge, dialogue, reflection and responsible being and action. This framework is potentially valuable as a tool for GCE engagement in schools, a lens for looking at global issues.
- The framework (Fig 2) might provide a useful starting point for teachers in examining global topics within their subject area critically. The concepts of knowledge, dialogue, self-reflection and responsible being and action form a simple and memorable framework which teachers could use to think through how knowledge is being framed and used within their classrooms. This framework can be applied to a range of different topics using prompt questions such as the ones in figure 18 below.



Figure 18: A Framework for Critical Global Citizenship Education Practice

- However, CGCE should not be seen as the responsibility of teachers alone. Examination of textbook sources in both MFL and Geography at Castle School suggests that 'soft' stereotypical views are prevalent. Teachers deserve further training and support to be able to use these resources in a critical way within their classrooms.
- In particular, the difficulties and emotional discomfort associated with encouraging students to reflect on their own implication in relation to issues such as consumption, poverty, environment and prejudice, suggests the need for more training and guidance in this area. Young (2006) offers a means for differentiating implicatedness on the basis of dimensions of power, privilege, interest and collective ability rather than framing issues in terms of individual

blame. In particular, there is scope to focus on the role of MNCs and the media in influencing and constraining individual consumers. This might involve asking students to think about what makes a system of injustice possible. What do the conditions that form me constrain me to do? What can I do in conjunction with others to transform them? (Applebaum 2012).

- Given the popularity of fundraising in schools and the growing criticism surrounding it, there is a need for guidelines which enable teachers and students to engage with charitable initiatives in a meaningful way. For example, asking questions at a broader level such as: why does this charity exist? What role does it play? What factors enable or constrain this work? Why does it use particular imagery in campaigns? How might local people feel about this? This would support teachers and students to understand what charities do, to make informed decisions about fundraising and to be realistic about what they might hope to achieve through this approach. Such guidelines would go beyond those existing ones such as Jackson (2010).
- Similarly, there is need for alternatives to fundraising and campaigning to inspire teachers and students. This might involve shifting the emphasis from action to being (Applebaum 2012). Jefferess (2012a) suggests studying and learning from social movements around the world as a way to explore alternative forms of collective and individual action. Similarly, Muhammad (2014) recommends further engagement with corporations. Enabling citizens to develop collective ways of exerting pressure on governments and corporations would enable them to engage with different kinds of social and economic policies which go beyond individualist forms of action.
- Finally, more support could be given for working across difference within linking relationships. This could include how to broach the subject of expectations with a partner school and how to lay plans jointly for the shape and form of the partnership. Concepts of equality and sustainability are important but they do not always translate into practical solutions in linking partnerships.

Recommendations for Research

At the research end of the continuum, this research suggests the need for more theoretical concepts to enable researchers, policy-makers and practitioners to engage with the multiple instrumental agendas which play out in school. It also proposes a number of areas for further research, particularly within the English context where relatively few studies on CGCE exist:

- This research has highlighted potential opportunities for CGCE within the formal curriculum, yet it also points to tensions between CGCE and the formal curriculum. There is therefore a need for further research into the process of curriculum design and making across a range of subjects beyond Geography and Citizenship. In particular, analysis of curriculum materials such as examination specifications, textbooks and the National Curriculum would enable identification of possible enablers and barriers to CGCE. Further research into the processes through which teachers select, interpret and reinterpret knowledge would give insight into the process of curriculum-making within the classroom, as would research into how students learn to resist and transform knowledge during lessons.
- While postcolonial theory offers valuable tools for engaging with the moral and cultural agendas described in chapter six, it does not offer the means for engaging with the dominant neoliberal economic agendas and the perceived naturalness and inevitability surrounding them. I, like Egan (2012), therefore suggest the need for concepts which problematize the relationship between education and the economy. In this thesis, I have turned to research on the political economy (Brown 2003; Lauder *et al.* 2012b). However, there is a need to apply other theories about the political economy to GCE.
- There is also need for further research to explore how students and teachers deal with the challenges associated with CGCE including dealing with uncertainty, complexity and emotional responses. Understanding how they are able to move forward constructively with these challenges rather than employing strategies such as avoidance or denial would be extremely productive as Zembylas (2013) suggests.

Chapter Eight

In closing, this final section has highlighted a continuing role for both research and practice in developing CGCE. As this research has started to recognise, schools in many ways have the hard work to do in troubling dominant knowledge, dialoguing across difference, encouraging self-reflection and responsible action. However, there is a continuing need for *research* in guiding and supporting this learning process and ensuring that good quality support is available to schools. A combined effort from policy makers, textbook publishers, researchers, NGOs, schools and teachers to build upon those opportunities for CGCE which exist in schools is vital if education is to work towards challenging injustice as set out in the introduction to this thesis.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO SCHOOLS

Department of Education
University of Bath

15th January 2011

RE: Global Learning Research Project

Dear Madam,

I was given your name and contact details by [a member of staff] at [a local DEC] and I am writing to you about the possibility of Castle School becoming part of a research project about global learning. My name is Chloe Blackmore and I'm a PhD student in the Department of Education at the University of Bath (supported by Dr Harriet Marshall and Dr Kelly Teamey). My research is about global learning, looking specifically at how global issues such as poverty, inequality, and social justice are understood, taught and learned in school. From your website I can see that [your school] has a strong global ethos through your international status, emphasis on global citizenship within the curriculum and multiple global links and projects. I therefore hope that this research will be of particular interest to you and your school.

Although global learning is becoming increasingly important in our interconnected world, particularly as a way of fostering peace and sustainability, there is currently very little research in the field. In order to help develop our understanding of how complex global issues are understood, taught and learned, I am planning an in-depth case study with a school where I can take time to understand the issues from the perspectives of teachers and pupils – how are global issues understood, which issues are important, and what are the consequences of these understandings. Initially I would be interested in visiting your school for a preliminary visit of a couple of days with a view to developing a longer case study. During this longer period I would be happy to work in your school as a volunteer teaching assistant (a role of which I have previous experience), helping out in classes as well as spending some time talking to teachers and pupils about their experiences and ideas of global learning.

Given the ethos of your school, I hope you will find this research of interest, as well as being an opportunity for further developing and thinking about your global learning practice. I have enclosed a more detailed outline of my research with this letter where you can find further information about the project. If you are interested, I would like to arrange a meeting with yourself or another member of staff as soon as possible. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,
Chloe Blackmore

Project Information Sheet

**(Working title) Global Imaginaries – Understandings of Global Issues in School: An
Ethnographic Case Study**

Chloe Blackmore, C.Blackmore@bath.ac.uk

Research aims and questions

The main aim of this project is to gain a better understanding of global learning as it is understood, taught and learned in the classroom in order to improve practice across the UK. Building on my Masters research, this project will explore the following questions:

- how are key global issues such as ‘poverty’, ‘inequality’, ‘social justice’ and ‘sustainability’ being understood and translated in school?
- where do these understandings come from (e.g. policy, media, experiences) and what consequences do they have (e.g. on learning outcomes, behaviour, actions)?

Background information

Global learning is often seen as a crucial part of any meaningful response to the global challenges we face today such as inequality, poverty, conflict and climate change. It is supported by the government through a number of policy recommendations, for example (DfES/DEA (2005) *Developing a Global Dimension in the School Curriculum* and DfES (2004) *Putting the World into World Class Education*), as well as by large international development organisations such as Oxfam, ActionAid and UNICEF, and smaller ones such as African Initiatives in Bristol. Global learning is a broad concept which is not easy to define. However, the main umbrella organisation for global learning in the UK, Think Global (formerly the Development Education Association), use the term global learning to refer to the knowledge, skills and values, which lead to a better understanding of the wider world we live in. “It means putting learning in a global context, fostering critical and creative thinking, self-awareness and open-mindedness towards difference, understanding of global issues and power relationships, and optimism and action for a better world” (DEA 2008: 2). It can take place in a multitude of ways, including through the curriculum, speaker visits, theme days, visits, assemblies, the media and discussions.

Global learning is regarded as important in preparing children for a future in an ever-more interconnected world, allowing them to develop the knowledge, skills and values necessary for securing peace, equality and sustainability for all. However, despite the importance attributed to global learning, there is very little research in the classroom looking at global learning and how global understandings are developed and the consequences of these on learning, actions and behaviour. Further research is therefore needed to build on the views of teachers and learners and improve understanding of global learning in practice.

Methodology: what will the research involve?

In order to gain a deeper insight into global learning it is important to carry out case study research over a period of time. I am looking for a case study school which is already proactive in global learning so that the teachers and pupils can talk about what they’ve been doing. The approach I am going to use is ethnographic, which means it

places particular emphasis upon the experiences and understandings of the teachers and pupils – what do you/they understand by poverty or a poor country? How does it make you/them feel? How do they see themselves in relation to these issues and how do they see their responsibilities? Are there any difficulties with teaching or learning about global issues? It also means spending a reasonable amount of time (a couple of days per week over two or three terms) in school to get a good understanding of how global learning works in practice.

During the research period I would like to take part in/observe lessons, assemblies and activities which have a global theme. I would be happy to take on the role of a volunteer Teaching Assistant during this time, a role of which I have previous experience. I would also like to talk to teachers about their experiences of teaching global issues, and talk to some pupils in small groups about their experiences and ideas. Hopefully this will be an interesting and useful experience for all teachers and pupils involved, encouraging them to reflect on their global teaching and learning.

If you are interested at this stage, I would like to suggest a meeting in which I could visit your school and we could talk further about my research and how your school could be involved.

Regulations

In accordance with regulations I will apply for an Enhanced Disclosure CRB check through the University of Bath. I am also aware that some schools require their own CRB checks and am very happy to make arrangements if a specific one is required. The research will also comply with University ethics guidelines, meaning that all names (including the name of the school) will remain anonymous and participants will be under no obligation to take part.

About me

I'm a PhD student in the Department of Education at the University of Bath. I've been interested in Global Learning for a long time, starting with visits to an orphanage in Bulgaria with a charity I now coordinate, and continuing throughout my Masters degree (awarded 2010). I have experience of working with children and young people, both through my work at the orphanage in Bulgaria and as a Teaching Assistant at a secondary school in Devon.

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APPENDIX 2: INTRODUCTORY EMAIL TO STAFF

Dear Staff,

I am a PhD student at the University of Bath and I am currently undertaking research into global learning, looking at how global issues are taught and learned. As part of this research, I am going to be spending some time at Castle School over the coming academic year starting from Easter. I will be in school for two-three days a week and would like to observe lessons, assemblies and activities and talk to staff and students about global learning.

If you are interested in taking part, either by having me in your lesson or activity and/or talking to me about global learning, I would be very pleased to hear from you. I have attached some further information to this email, and if you have any comments or questions about the research, please do get in touch, either in person or using the contact details below. Thank you for your help and I look forward to meeting you during the coming term.

Best wishes,
Chloe Blackmore

Appendices

APPENDIX 3: FIELDWORK LOG

Ref	Date	Length of visit	Description of Activities	Comments	Supporting documents
1	11.02.11	10.00-15.30	Initial visit to school: ECM day (Bosnia and Human Rights)	Meetings with IE Co-ordinator and Head Teacher, observation	Fieldnotes Consent forms
2	28.04.11	8.40-15.00 19.00-22.30	Observation: Y9 Holocaust day and Memorial Evening Event		Fieldnotes, audio of evening event
4	05.05.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y7 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, assembly, Maths, History, IT, French, French)		Fieldnotes
5	06.05.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, assembly, Geography, German, Science, Music, English)	IE co-ordinator sent my introductory email to staff.	Fieldnotes
6	12.05.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y9 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, Maths, French, History, Science, English)		Fieldnotes
7	13.05.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y10 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, English, German)		Fieldnotes
8	17.05.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, PE, Maths, Drama, DT, Art)		Fieldnotes
9	18.05.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN , Maths, DT, English, ICT, History)		Fieldnotes
10	23.05.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Humanities department (History and RE) Interview: HGP Co-ordinator Informal conversations: Geography teacher, History teacher		Fieldnotes Audio-recording Fieldnotes
11	24.05.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Humanities department (History, Geography, RE) Informal interview: Head of Humanities		Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
12	09.06.11	8.40-16.30	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, Curriculum Plus, Maths, Science, PE, RE) Informal discussion about HGP reading group		Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
13	10.06.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, French, Music, DT, English, Science)		Fieldnotes
14	16.06.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, English,		Fieldnotes

Appendices

Ref	Date	Length of visit	Description of Activities	Comments	Supporting documents
			Science, DT, RE, French)		
15	17.06.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, English, PE, Science, DT, History, Music)		Fieldnotes
16	22.06.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, Maths, DT, English, ICT, History)		Fieldnotes
17	23.06.11	8.40-21.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, Curriculum Plus, Maths, Science, PE, PE, RE) Attendance at local music festival		Fieldnotes
18	28.06.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit (ASDAN, Art, PE, Drama, Maths, Geography)		Fieldnotes
19	29.06.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y8 pupil pursuit, ECM day	Careers topic	Fieldnotes
20	04.07.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y12/Y8 pupil pursuit (Y8 ASDAN, Y12 Geography, Y8 English, Y8 RE, Y8 French)		Fieldnotes
21	05.07.11	8.40-15.00	Informal discussion: Y8 students Y12 Geography	Global learning Dharavi Slum	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
22	06.07.11	8.40-9.10	Informal discussion: Y8 students	Global learning	Fieldnotes
23	17.07.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: enrichment week	Community theme - Staffordshire	Fieldnotes
24	21.07.11	8.40-16.30	Observation: community-themed enrichment week Participant observation: HGP reading group	Discussion of Hana's Suitcase (Levine) and Y12 visit to Auschwitz as part of LFA	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
25	08.09.11	3.00-16.30	Participant observation: HGP reading group	8-stages of genocide model	Fieldnotes
26	4.10.11	8.40-15.00	Participant observation: DEC-led Bangladesh Linking Training Session		Fieldnotes
27	13.10.11	8.40-16.30	Observation: Y9 assembly Observation: Y8 Geography Participant observation: HGP reading group	Value of the month: empathy Brazil Refugee Boy (Zephaniah) discussion	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
28	03.11.11	3.00-16.30	Participant observation: HGP reading group	Student-led session, discussion of Maus (Spiegelman) and ideas for Darfur campaign	Fieldnotes
29	8.11.11	8.40-15.00	Observation: Y12 ECM day - Rwandan genocide and Darfur	Watched film Rwanda: Hope in Hell, campaign activities on Rwanda and Darfur, talk by representative from Survivor Fund	Fieldnotes

Appendices

Ref	Date	Length of visit	Description of Activities	Comments	Supporting documents
				(SURF)	
30	21.11.11		Meeting with IE co-ordinator and Head Teacher	Permission granted to use real name of school, talked to Amy about what she thinks is important in terms of global learning	Fieldnotes, signed consent form
31	23.11.11		Observation: New IE Co-ordinator interviews		Fieldnotes Job specification
32	01.12.11		Participant Observation: HGP reading group	Discussion of Maus (Spiegelman), introduction to The Sunflower (Wiesenthal) and discussion about Darfur.	Fieldnotes
33	15.12.11		Meeting: IE co-ordinator Participant observation: HGP reading group		Fieldnotes
34	12.01.11		Participant Observation: HGP reading group	Discussion The Sunflower (Wiesenthal)	Fieldnotes
35	26.01.12		Participant Observation: HGP reading group		Fieldnotes
36	27.01.12		Observation: Y9 Geography P3 and P4		Fieldnotes
37	01.02.12		Observation: International Group, Y9 Geography		Fieldnotes
38	03.02.12		Observation: Y9 ECM day - Human Rights and International Law, Bosnia, community learning event and evening workshops		Fieldnotes
39	09.02.12		Observation: Y9 Geography	Japan unit, making board games	Fieldnotes
40	09.02.12		Participant observation: HGP reading group	Discussed Christophe's Story and The Promise	Fieldnotes
41	22.02.12		Observation: International group and Y9 Geography	Get Set Olympic registration and research, start of 80/20 unit in Geography	Fieldnotes
42	23.02.12		Participant observation: HGP reading group	Discussion of The Promise (Schloss) and writing on online discussion boards. I gave out student consent forms for student workshops.	Fieldnotes
43	29.02.12		Recruitment: Y12 student discussion groups Observation: Y9 Geography Interview: Assistant Head, Head of International	80:20 unit: introduction	Fieldnotes Audio-recording

Appendices

Ref	Date	Length of visit	Description of Activities	Comments	Supporting documents
44	01.03.12		Recruitment: Y12 student discussion groups Observation: Y9 Geography	80:20 unit: measures of development	Fieldnotes
45	02.03.12		Observation: Y9 Geography	80:20 unit: more measures of development	Fieldnotes
46	07.03.12		Observation: International group Observation: Y9 Geography	Fact file: twinning countries 80:20 unit: top trumps	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
47	08.03.12		Discussion group: reading group students	Only 1 Y12 student attended	Audio-recording
48	13.03.12	3.15-3.45	Discussion group: Y12 students	4 students attended, discussion was awkward, I asked a lot of prompt questions	Audio-recording
49	14.03.12		Observation: Y12 Swedish link meeting, Y9 Geography Discussion group: Y12 students	80:20 unit: symptoms of poverty 3 students	Fieldnotes Audio-recording
50	15.03.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Discussion group: Y9 Geography students Interview: Learning mentor	5 students	Fieldnotes Audio-recording Audio-recording
51	16.03.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Discussion group x 2: Y9 Geography students	80:20 unit: symptoms of poverty Five students, three students	Fieldnotes Audio-recording
52	21.03.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Observation: Swedish link visit	80:20 unit: Make Poverty History campaign Conversations with Swedish teachers	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
53	27.03.12		Discussion group: Y12 students	Two students	
54	28.03.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Discussion group: Y12 students Discussion group: Y12 students Interview: English Teacher	80:20 unit: test 2 students 1 student	Fieldnotes Audio-recording Audio-recording Audio-recording
55	29.03.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Participant Observation: HGP reading Group	80:20 unit: test Discussion of Anne Frank's Diary	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
56	18.04.12		Observation: International group Observation: Y9 Geography Observation: Y11 Garden Project Discussion group: Y12 photo elicitation	Printing out fact files Global Footprints unit: introduction Transplanting seedlings One student at discussion group	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes Fieldnotes Audio-recording
57	19.04.12		Participant observation: HGP reading group	Preparation of Holocaust Day board	Fieldnotes

Appendices

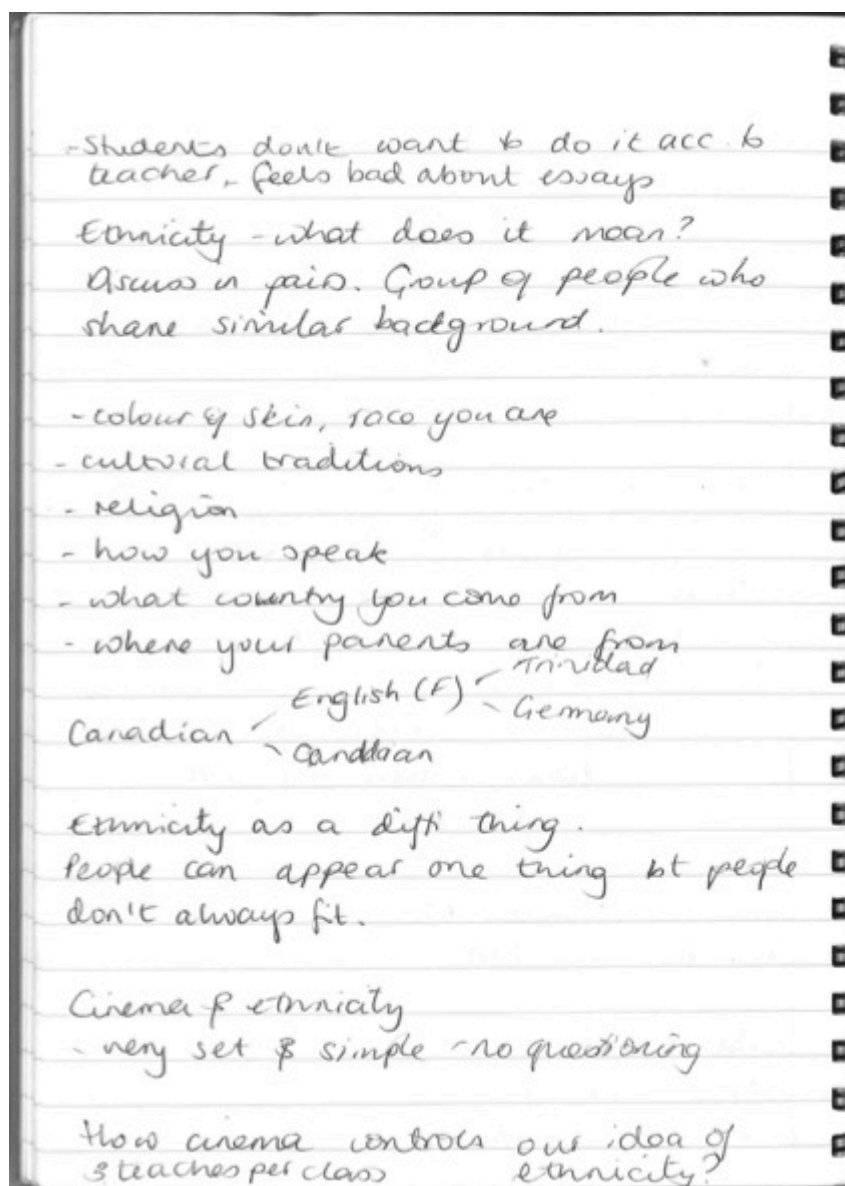
Ref	Date	Length of visit	Description of Activities	Comments	Supporting documents
58	25.04.12		Observation: Y9 Holocaust Day Observation: HGP memorial event Interview: Parent 1		Fieldnotes, docs Audio-recording Audio-recoding
59	26.04.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Interview: IE co-ordinator/Geography Teacher	Global footprints unit: global warming	Fieldnotes Audio-recording
60	02.05.12		Observation: Y9 Geography	Global footprints unit: carbon emissions	Fieldnotes, docs
61	03.05.12		Interview: Parent 2 Observation: Lord Boateng talk with Geography Teacher and Y12 students		Audio-recording Fieldnotes
62	09.05.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Observation: Holocaust special assembly Interview: Parent 3	Global footprints unit: assessment	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes Audio-recording
63	11.05.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Interview: ECM and Charities Co-ordinator/Science Teacher	Global footprints unit: assessment	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
64	16.05.12		Observation: international group Observation: Y9 Geography Observation: Y9 History Informal conversations: History Teacher Meeting: Singapore visit	Making slides to send to South African link Global footprints unit: food miles	Fieldnotes Fieldnotes Fieldnotes Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
65	23.05.12		Interview: Maths teacher	Took place at break time	Fieldnotes, docs
66	24.05.12		Observation: Y9 Geography	Global footprints unit: food miles continued	Fieldnotes, docs
67	25.05.12	8.40-3.00	Observation: Singapore partner visit Interview: Music Teacher	Music and Drama activities	Fieldnotes Audio-recording
68	26.05.12		Observation: Y9 Geography	Global footprints unit: rubbish	
69	30.05.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Interview: English Teacher	Global footprints unit: caffeine footprint	Fieldnotes Audio-recording
70	13.06.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Informal conversation: HGP Co-ordinator Interview: Parent 4	Olympics unit: introduction	Fieldnotes

Appendices

Ref	Date	Length of visit	Description of Activities	Comments	Supporting documents
71	14.06.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Informal discussion about HGP reading group	Olympics unit: London 2012 and me	Fieldnotes
72	20.06.12		Observation: Y9 Geography	Olympics unit: designing sustainable stadium	Fieldnotes
73	22.06.12		Interview: Drama Teacher Interview: RE Teacher		Audio-recording Audio-recording
74	27.06.12		Observation: Y9 Geography	Olympics unit: impact of Olympics	Fieldnotes
75	29.06.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Interview: Head Teacher		Fieldnotes Audio-recording
76	02.07.12		Observation: Y9 ECM day Interview: MFL Teacher	Holocaust theme	Fieldnotes, docs Audio-recording
77	04.07.12		Observation: enrichment week	'Oltalternative Olympics' theme	Fieldnotes
78	11.07.12		Observation: Y9 Geography Meeting: English Teacher to plan discussion groups		Fieldnotes Fieldnotes
79	16.07.12		Discussion group: Y9 English class Interview: Science Teacher		Audio-recording Audio-recording
80	20.07.12		Interview: LEA International Development Officer		Audio-recording
81	03.10.12		Observation: HGP speaker evening for parents		Audio-recording

APPENDIX 4: EXAMPLE OF JOTTED AND FULL FIELDNOTES

Jotted notes



Full notes

P2: year 9 curriculum plus, media studies, 24.05.11 [teacher]

Curriculum plus takes place across the school and students have three lessons every fortnight. They're given a choice about what they'd like to study - media, astronomy, art, drama etc. However, it's stopping next year due to budget cuts.

This class was on media.

The students had watched three films: 1) Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon, 2) When We Were Kings, 3) Flight of the Concorde.

Appendices

In this lesson the students started preparing and writing essays on how ethnicity is dealt with through film. The teacher said that the students were bored with the films and wouldn't want to write essay – they prefer to do something more hands on. I think she felt bad for giving them an essay to write. This also came across slightly in the class when she explained to them that if they take Media Studies for GCSE they will have to write essays and analyses of what they've made, seen, heard etc.

The lesson started with a question – what does ethnicity mean? The students had to discuss in pairs and then the teacher asked who felt they could attempt an answer (but not actually give an answer), and then who actually wanted to answer.

Responses were:

P: it's the colour of your skin, the race you are

T: Yes, good, that's a big part of it.

P: cultural traditions

P: religion

P: how you speak

P: what country you come from

P: where your parents are from

Yes, ethnicity is a difficult thing. People can appear to be one thing but they don't always fit. The teacher asked whether anyone had ever had to fill out a form with boxes white British, white Irish, black American, black African etc. That's ethnicity. A group of people who share a similar background.

She then gave the example of her own background. She's Canadian, Anglican religion, speaks English. Her Mum's Canadian and her Dad's English. On her Dad's side, her grandparents are from Trinidad and Germany. So things quickly start to get a lot more complicated – what am I? I don't fit any of the boxes on the census form.

She then moved onto cinema. In cinema, ethnicity is usually portrayed in a very set and simple way. There is no questioning. How does cinema control our idea of ethnicity?

She mentioned three films about Canada including South Park. She reminded the students about stereotypes by asking what they thought about her – that she lived in a log hut, ate maple syrup and bacon, and that it's always cold in Canada!

What do the films tell us about the ethnic groups? The students were asked to discuss this in groups before feeding back to the class.

Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon

In groups:

P: "Well, they were Chinese weren't they"

T: Yes, and what does the film tell us about Chinese people

P: they're good fighters

T: yes, martial arts, kung fu

P: they're all the same skin colour

T: yes, they're all one ethnic group

As a class:

T: What about ethnicity in CTHD?

P: it's about ancient traditions – martial arts and arranged marriages

P: there are lots of traditional buildings, serene mountains, everything is very calm and peaceful

T: excellent, there's no chaos is there. Reality is very different but we'll come back to that.

P: a lot about women and men's roles in society

T: Good. And what were they looking for in the film?

P: the sword

T: yes, so sacred artefacts are important. This suggests that your past is important.

T: Who runs China? You don't have to give names but is it a democracy? A dictatorship?

P: A communist dictatorship

T: Right, one leader who has a say about everything, including cinema. So the leader or his followers would have checked this film to make sure it showed China in a good way. No one's poor or struggling. It's very peaceful. It shows China as being very calm.

The students were then asked to do the same for *When We Were Kings*, which is a film about the African American boxer, Mohammad Ali who emphasises his African identity.

As a class:

P: He had a lot to prove – he want to be the best boxer and he also want to be seen as African

P: He's proud of his African roots.

Appendices

T: Yes, although he speaks with an American accent and was born in America he talks about brotherhood with Africans

P: There's lots about his background, how his views were formed, African society and music

P: It's well-edited. It flicks from Africa to America to show the difference in wealth.

T: Yes, and what about the way he speaks?

P: He speaks in rhyme quite a lot.

T: And he speaks about rising up against the oppressor. Who is the oppressor?

P: the other boxer

T: Yes, and overall?

P: America

T: Yes. Think about the time period. Black and white people had different realities in America – it was hard for black people to get jobs. Ali feels much more at home in Africa rather than in America.

The students were then asked to write an essay. How is ethnicity portrayed in films? How does cinema influence our view of ethnicity?

They were given 15 mins to start this. At the end of the lesson they were asked to stand beside someone they hadn't spoken to today and share their ideas. "One thing I focussed on so far in the essay was...".

APPENDIX 5: TEACHER INTERVIEW GUIDE

Aim to understand what global citizenship education means and how and where it is being practised in school.

Introduction

- In your understanding, what does it mean for your school to be a global school in a local community?
- What do you think the school is trying to achieve through its global and international learning activities?
- What is your motivation for taking on a global/international related role? (if applicable)

Your practice

- (How) do you address global/development issues in your lessons/tutor time?
[Refer to international audit and lesson observations where applicable]
- What do you hope the pupils will learn from this? What do you hope to achieve?
- Do you receive any support?
- What are the challenges to teaching about global issues?

APPENDIX 6: PARENT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Aim to understand how parents understand GCE and what they feel is important for their children to learn. I'd also like to get an idea of what kind of exposure the students might be getting to global learning at home.

Introduction

- me and my research topic
- interested in your ideas, perspectives and needs about global learning

The School

- What do you think makes Castle School a 'a global school in a local community'?
- What do you think the school are trying to achieve by teaching pupils about this global dimension?
- Do you think this is important? Why? Is it something you look to the school to provide?

Son/daughter

- Has your son/ daughter been involved in any global learning activities? If so what?
- What do you think he or she has learned from this?

Support

- What do you think is done well in terms of global learning at school?
- Is there anything missing?
- Does your son/daughter learn about global issues outside of school too?

APPENDIX 7: GEOGRAPHY DISCUSSION GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction

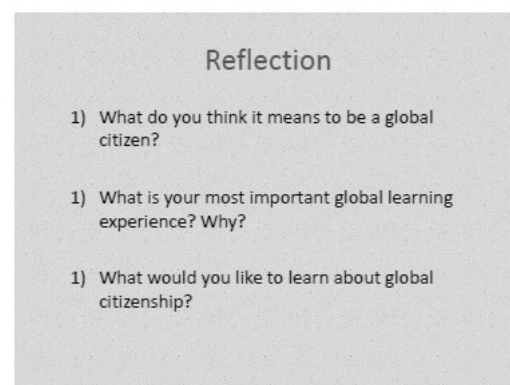
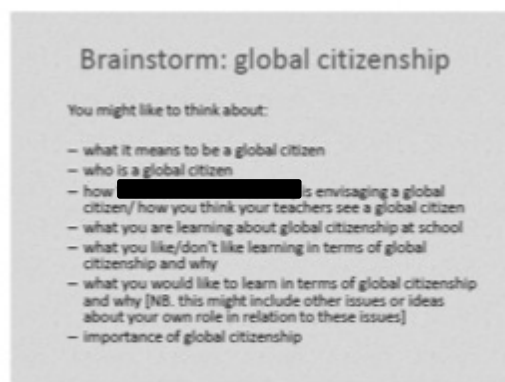
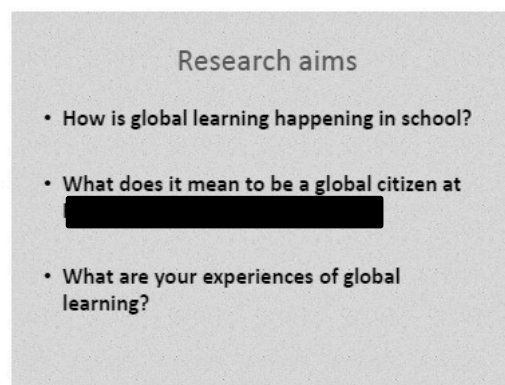
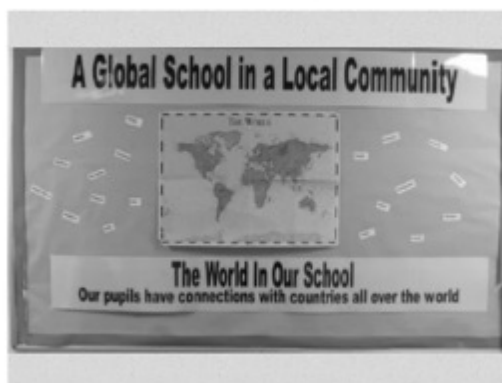
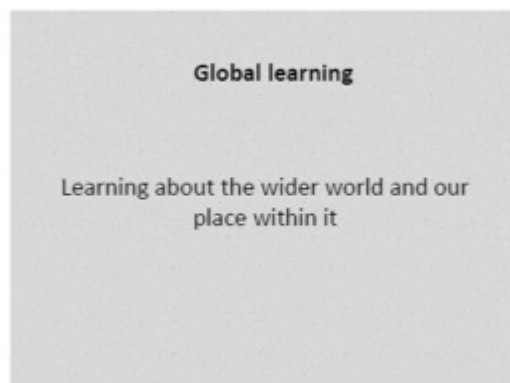
- Can you remember what the school tagline is? What does it mean to be a global school in a local community?
- Where do you learn about global issues?

Geography

- What do you think about the 80:20 topic you are doing in Geography at the moment?
- What have you learned?
- Do you think it is important to learn about poverty and why?
- What causes poverty?
- Who is responsible?
- What can be done?
- Do you have any questions about poverty? Please write these on paper.

Appendices

APPENDIX 8: INTRODUCTION TO STUDENT MODERATED DISCUSSION GROUPS



APPENDIX 9: INITIAL LIST OF CODES

Spaces of GCE	Meanings of GCE	Challenges of GCE
ASDAN and COPE	Appreciating the global context	Ability
Charity fundraising	Becoming a better person	Boredom
Cross-curricular	Becoming more worldwise	Communication
Curriculum	Building community	Curriculum
Duke of Edinburgh	Building confidence	Distance
ECM	Challenging prejudice	Don't know what to do
Embedded	Developing student character	Emotions
Experience	Doing something	Extravagance
Garden project	Enabling student leadership	GCE is not inclusive to all
Holocaust and Genocide	Encompassing everything	Government policy
Humanities	Enriching other people's lives	Guilt
International audit	Exploring what it means to be part of this	Health and safety
International group	Forgiving	It's depressing
Languages	Fostering tolerance and understanding	Lack of knowledge
School linking	Getting people to care	Lack of support
Setting an example	Giving and giving up	Narrow-mindedness
Technology	Giving students opportunities	Need to impact students
Trips	Helping	Pitching it at the right level
	Helping students to grasp opportunities	Reproducing stereotypes
	Helping young people filter what they	Superficial
	Knowing what's happening in the world	Teaching about uncertainty
	Learning about difference	Time
	Learning to empathise	Too broad
	Learning to get on with others	Western-focus
	Making a difference	
	Making informed decisions	
	Making learning inclusive	
	Making learning meaningful and engaging	
	Making learning real	
	Nothing	
	Opening eyes to new possibilities	
	Opening up the quandaries we all face	
	Overcoming distance	
	Preparing students for employment in the	
	Preparing students to live or work abroad	
	Preventing genocide	
	Producing a well-rounded individual	
	Producing amazing people	
	Producing responsible citizens	
	Promoting cooperation	
	Raising awareness of atrocities	
	Raising awareness of lifestyle and choices	
	Realising that they are global citizens	
	Recognising privilege and luck	
	Remembrance	

Appendices

	Fostering respect	
	Sharing	
	Speaking up, speaking out	
	Thinking about values	
	Uncertain	
	Understanding competition	
	Understanding global issues	
	Understanding how other places can	
	Understanding role in the global economy	
	Understanding poverty	
	Understanding the realities of what's	
	Fostering unity	
	Valuing difference	
	Widening perspectives	

APPENDIX 10: ETHIC FORM

University of Bath Department of Education

MPHIL OR PHD PROGRAMME: ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PROPOSED RESEARCH

To be completed by the student and supervisor(s) and approved by the Director of
Studies

before any data collection takes place

Introduction

1. *Name(s) of researcher(s)*: Chloe Blackmore
2. *Provisional title of your research*: Imagining the world: an ethnographic case study of global learning in a UK secondary school
3. *Justification of Research*: Global learning is often seen as an important part of any meaningful educational response to the global challenges we face today (i.e. social injustice, inequality, climate change). Despite evidence of a large number of practical global learning initiatives, there is very little research into how such issues are understood, taught and learned. In particular, the political nature of global issues is often left unaddressed within educational practice and this denial can serve to reinforce existing stereotypes and inequalities. By emphasising the political, this research therefore aims to improve understanding of global learning with the aim of making current practice more ethical.

Consent

4. *Who are the main participants in your research (interviewees, respondents, raconteurs and so forth)?* My research is ethnographic, involving a school case study of global learning and therefore a potentially large number of participants including the head teacher, teachers, parents, pupils, external visitors and NGO workers. Participation could range from relatively passive (e.g. class observation) to relatively active (e.g. taking part in a focus group activity (for students) or being interviewed (for teachers)).
5. *How will you find and contact these participants?* I am developing links with schools which are already proactive in terms of their global learning – in this sense the school will not be ‘typical’ but ‘telling’ in order to allow me to focus on *how* global learning is taking place. I have already begun the process of negotiating access by asking existing contacts at the local Development Education Centre (DEC) and Global Learning Network (GLEAN) for recommendations of schools which emphasise global learning. Letters were then sent to these schools, addressed either directly to the Head teacher or

Appendices

a global learning co-ordinator within the school. Initially I am looking for three/four schools to carry out a preliminary scoping study, which will consist of a short one-two day visit in each school to enable me to observe some lessons and talk to key teachers and build up a better idea of the school's global learning work. From this I hope to choose one (or possibly two) school(s) to participate in sustained ethnographic case study research.

6. How will you obtain consent? From whom? For the preliminary study, consent will be obtained from the school via the Head teacher as well as from classroom teachers before any lesson observations or interview discussions take place. In accordance with BERA (2004) guidelines, consent will be voluntary and participants will be given information via an information sheet about why their participation is necessary, how it will be used, and how results will be reported. They will also be informed of their right to withdraw from the research at any time. During the preliminary phase it is not considered necessary to obtain consent from pupils or their parents since they will not be involved at this stage. However, during the extended case study, consent from both pupils and their parents will be necessary and will be obtained by sending an information letter and consent form home. At this stage it is difficult to know how many students will be involved in my research since it depends how my research focuses in on either particular classes or year groups. This will depend on the school and a decision will be made together with teachers/Head teacher.

Deception

7. How will you present the purpose of your research? Do you foresee any problems including presenting yourself as the researcher? All schools will be sent an initial letter and information sheet detailing the purpose of the research – i.e. to carry out research on understandings of global issues within school. I will also meet the contact teacher/Head teacher in person to answer any questions and will continue to remain open about my role as a researcher with both teachers and students throughout. One foreseeable problem concerns the potentially critical nature of my research. I intend to keep my own political views about global learning to myself, at least initially so as not to influence practice too much, as well as not to put participants off. However, as time progresses I hope to be able to talk to participants about this, hear their own views and talk about ways of making global learning more ethical.

8. In what ways might your research cause harm (physical or psychological distress or discomfort) to yourself or others? What will you do to minimise this? Whilst this project involves very minimal risk of physical harm to participants, it is important to note that global learning concerns potentially controversial and emotive issues such as 'social injustice' and 'inequality'. In some cases, talking about these issues could lead to feelings of anger, upset or guilt for participants. In order to minimise potential upset, I will remain sensitive during classroom discussion and will set up ground rules when facilitating focus group discussions in accordance with Oxfam's (2006) *Teaching Controversial Issues* guide, ensuring that discussion takes place in a safe and supportive atmosphere where each student is able to express and explore her/his own opinions and ideas, as well as listening to, and respecting, other people's contributions.

Following such guidelines will therefore minimise the risk of harm through hurtful comments.

Furthermore, given the potentially critical stance of the research project, there is some potential to cause upset among teachers, especially if any findings are perceived as a criticism of their work. My methodological framework and theoretical leaning should help to minimise these risks. By drawing upon critical realism, I recognise how participants' active constructions and actions are constrained by material reality. As Sims-Scouten, Riley and Willig 2007: 103-4) say, "we consider this contextualising of participants' talk as an ethical stance, in the sense that analysing participants' talk without considering their material existence does not always do justice to the participants' lived experience". In addition, I will endeavour to remain sensitive throughout the fieldwork period, whilst in classroom and talking to teachers.

Confidentiality

9. What measures are in place to safeguard the identity of participants and locations?

All participants (including the name of the case study school) will remain anonymous in both fieldnotes and the final written report. This will be achieved using pseudonyms. However, given the level of contextualising necessary within ethnographic research, it is possible that the school will still be identifiable despite using a pseudonym and keeping the location confidential. This is a common issue in ethnographic research and will be discussed with the school. All data will be kept securely in accordance with BERA (2004) ethical guidelines.

Accuracy

10. How will you record information faithfully and accurately? During classroom and school observations (e.g. during assemblies) I will take detailed fieldnotes, or where this is not feasible, headnotes or rough notes will be written up later the same day (Emerson *et al* 2001). I also hope to use a voice recorder (or possibly a video recorder) during classes where possible and as the main way of recording information during focus group discussions and interviews. Consent will be sought from participants before any recording equipment is used.

11. At what stages of your research, and in what ways will participants be involved?

The actual shape of the case study including what lessons are observed will be determined in discussion with the school. I also hope to introduce more creative, visual methodologies during the focus group sessions and hope that the students will be able to get involved with this.

12. Have you considered how to share your findings with participants and how to thank them for their participation? I intend to invite participants to read and comment on drafts of the analysis – as well as helping to validate the findings, this is also important in breaking down the unequal power relationships between researcher and researched.

Appendices

This is also a way of sharing findings with the school, something which I think they will be interested in as a way of developing their own practice. For the students, I hope to present the research in a more innovative form e.g. through a poster or web-based means rather than as a written report.

Additional Information

13. *Have you approached any other body or organisation for permission to conduct this research?* No

14. *Who will supervise this research?* Dr Harriet Marshall and Dr Kelly Teamey

15. *Any other relevant information.* I will comply with legal requirements in relation to working with school children and will ensure that I have a valid enhanced disclosure certificate from the Criminal Records Bureau.

APPENDIX 11: STUDENT CONSENT FORM**Global Learning Research Project**18th June 2012

Dear Students,

My name is Chloe Blackmore and I'm a PhD student at the University of Bath. I've been working with Castle School over the past year to carry out some research into global learning. Global learning refers to learning about the wider world and your place within it and my research aims to find out how global learning is happening in school. I am especially interested to find out about student experiences of global learning and your own ideas about what it means to be a global citizen.

In conjunction with your English speaking and listening assessment, you will have the opportunity to be part of this research. You will learn about the process of doing research and have the chance to become a student researcher. This will involve taking part in a range of activities including class and small group discussions, allowing you to explore what it means to be a global citizen and reflect on your own global learning experiences. These activities will take place during your English lessons in the last week of term (week beginning 16th July) and you will also be awarded a speaking and listening grade on the basis of your participation in the class discussions.

With your permission the lessons and discussions will be recorded as part of the research. These recordings will only be used by me and will be stored securely. Anything you say will remain anonymous. The findings will be written up as part of my PhD thesis and might be used to inform future publications. I will also produce a short report for the school. Participation in the research is entirely voluntary and if you decide you do not want to take part, this will not affect your English speaking and listening grade.

If you have any questions, please contact me (C.Blackmore@bath.ac.uk) or [your teacher]. Otherwise, I would be grateful if you could give the attached letter to your parents and if you could complete the student slip below. Please return both slips to [your teacher] by Thursday 28th June. Thank you for your help.

Yours faithfully,

Chloe Blackmore

Global Learning Research Project

Yes No

I agree to take part in the research:
(Please tick to indicate your agreement)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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I agree to be recorded:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------

Student's Name:

Student's Signature:

Date:

Global Learning Research Project

18th June 2012

Dear Parents and Guardians,

My name is Chloe Blackmore and I'm a PhD student at the University of Bath. I've been working with Castle School over the past year to carry out some research into global learning. Global learning refers to learning about the wider world and your place within it and my research aims to find out how global learning is happening in school. I am especially interested to find out more about student experiences of global learning and student ideas about what it means to be a global citizen.

In conjunction with your son/daughter's English speaking and listening assessment, he or she will have the opportunity to be part of this research. His/her English class will be learning about the process of doing research and will have the chance to become student researchers. This will involve taking part in a range of activities including class and small group discussions, allowing the students to explore what it means to be a global citizen and reflect on their own global learning experiences. These activities will take place during English lessons in the last week of term (week beginning 16th July). Your son or daughter will also be awarded a speaking and listening grade on the basis of his or her participation in the class discussions.

With your permission the lessons and discussions will be recorded as part of the research. These recordings will only be used by me and will be stored securely. Anything your son/daughter says will remain anonymous. The findings will be written up as part of my PhD thesis and might be used to inform future publications. I will also produce a short report for the school. Please note that this research does not try to influence your son or daughter's ideas about global issues or tell him or her what he or she should be doing. I am only interested in his/her experiences and ideas. Participation in the research is entirely voluntary and if decide you do not want your son/daughter to take part, this will not affect his/her English speaking and listening grade.

For those parents who I haven't already contacted, I am also looking to talk to parents about your perspectives on global learning. If you would be happy to be part of my research, I would be grateful if you could provide a phone number or email address below for me to contact you to arrange an informal interview at a time and place to suit you. If you have any questions, please contact me (C.Blackmore@bath.ac.uk) or [your son/daughter's teacher] by email. Otherwise I would be grateful if you could complete the slip below and return to [your son/daughter's teacher] by Thursday 28th June. Thank you for your help.

Yours faithfully,
Chloe Blackmore

Global Learning Research Project

Yes No

I agree for my son/daughter to take part in the research:
(Please tick to indicate your agreement)

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------

I agree for my son/daughter to be recorded:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
--------------------------	--------------------------

Student's Name:

Parent's Name:

Parent's Signature:

Parent's phone number/email address and preferred contact time (if you are happy for me to contact you):

Date:

APPENDIX 12: TEACHER INFORMED CONSENT

Global Learning Research Project

Teacher Information Sheet

My name is Chloe Blackmore and I'm a PhD student at the University of Bath. I'm working with Castle School to carry out some research into global learning – broadly defined as learning about global issues such as poverty, inequality, environmental issues, conflict and cultural difference. This information sheet contains more information about the research and what it involves.

What is the purpose of the research?

The aim of this research is to gain a better understanding of global learning in secondary school from the perspectives of teachers, students and parents. While there are many global learning initiatives taking place in schools and community organisations, there is very little research looking at what global learning means, how global learning happens in school, how global issues are understood, and the roles and responsibilities of the school community in relation to these issues.

What does the research involve?

In order to explore global learning I am carrying out in depth qualitative research at Castle School. Your school has been invited to take part in the research because of your strong global ethos and commitment to global learning. The research will involve lesson observations and informal interviews/discussion groups with teachers, students and parents. As a teacher, I would be very interested to talk to you about your views and experiences of global learning and/or observe some of your lessons. With your permission, any interview discussions will be audio recorded to save time taking notes.

What happens to the data?

Anything you say to me will remain anonymous and the data will be securely stored. The findings will be written up as part of my PhD thesis and might also inform future publications. I will also write a summary report for the school, which you and other teachers/students will be welcome to read and make comments on if you wish.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You can change your mind and withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

Thank you very much for reading this information sheet. If you have any questions or comments about the research please do get in touch on C.Blackmore@bath.ac.uk or call xxxxx xxxxxx.

Global Learning Research Project

Consent Form

Please read the following statements and sign below to give your consent for participation in this research.

I have read the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research.

☐

I understand that my participation in the research is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time without giving a reason.

☐

I understand that pseudonyms will be used to protect my identity in any written or verbal reports.

☐

I agree to audio-recording of interview discussions.

☐

I agree to participate in this research.

☐

Signature

Name

Date

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